





PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY

TO

DECEMBER, 1900.

VOL. XXII. THIRTIETH SESSION.

PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1900.

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE LONDON.

COUNCIL, 1900.

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First Meeting, January 9th, 1900.

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TRANSACTIONS					To Members.		To Non- Members.							To Members.		To Non- Members.	
					<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>							<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	
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THIRTIETH SESSION, 1900.

First Meeting, 9th January, 1900.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

THOMAS CHRISTY, ESQ.. F.L.S. (MEMBER OF COUNCIL),
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—G. Maspero. *Histoire Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique. Les Empires.* 8vo. Paris. 1899.

From Joseph Pollard:—*Massilia-Carthago; Sacrifice Tablets of the Worship of Baal.* Edited by the Rev. J. M. Macdonald, 8vo. London. 1897.

From the Author:—Rev. C. H. de Cara, S.J. *I dialetti Italici e gl' Itali della storia.*

Civiltà Cattolica, November, 1899.

[No. CLXV.]

From F. Legge, Esq. :—Books on Egypt and Chaldæa. London. 8vo. 1899.

Vol. I. Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life. By E. A. Wallis Budge.

Vol. II. Egyptian Magic. By E. A. Wallis Budge.

Vol. III. Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. By E. A. Wallis Budge.

Vol. IV. Babylonian Religion and Mythology. By L. W. King.

From the Author :—Prosser James, M.D. The Earliest Recorded Discovery of Thermal Springs. London. 8vo. 1897.

Journal of Balneology and Climatology, October, 1897.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting in February :—

Arthur Mounfield, Dutton Street, Warrington.

It was proposed by Mr. Thomas Christy, F.L.S., and seconded by Mr. Joseph Pollard, that Articles 14 and 45 be altered.

That Article 14 shall now read : “The Council shall meet at least half an hour before each meeting.”

That Article 45 shall now read : “The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be holden on any day in each month (except January), from November to June, in each Session. The day and hour to be fixed by the Council, and the Council shall meet at least half an hour earlier on the same day, Passion, Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas weeks excepted. It shall be in the power of the Council to vary the commencement and duration of the Session as may be necessary.”

The Chairman having submitted the above resolution, it was carried.

The Chairman announced that during the present year the Meetings would be held on the *Second Tuesday* in the month, at 4.30 p.m.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1899.

In submitting to you my twenty-first annual report, reference must be again made to the severe losses the Society has suffered from the death of some of its most distinguished members ; it has been a sad duty to announce these losses from time to time. I cannot refrain from referring to the death of one of our earliest members, Mrs. Bosanquet, which took place on the 23rd of December. To her husband, Mr. James Whatman Bosanquet, the Society was indebted for much generous assistance in its earlier years ; he was the first Treasurer, and held that office up to the time of his death.

Although the number on the roll of Members has been fairly retained, there is still much more that might be done, if a determined effort was made to increase the number. There must be many who would be willing, if only they were asked, to help us to place a greater quantity of material, of a more varied character, in the hands of scholars and students, and at the same time gain the opportunity of reading it themselves. I have many times appealed to the whole body of Members to assist the Society in this manner ; I again repeat the appeal, in the hope that it may not be overlooked.

The Twenty-ninth Session commenced in November, 1898, and the present volume, like its immediate predecessors, includes the *Proceedings* from January to December, 1899.

The papers read before the Society, and printed in this volume, will be found not inferior in value and interest to those of former years, and the best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have thus contributed to the success of our meetings and publications.

Those printed in the volume of *Proceedings* for the year 1899 are as follows. Many of them have been fully illustrated, and it will be noted that the suggestion with reference to short notes has been very kindly responded to by a number of the Members. These add very much to the interest of our publications, and I can only hope that it will be possible to print a greater number of notes during the coming year :—
PROF. J. LIEBLEIN :

In continuation of his paper entitled *L'Exode des Hébreux*, printed in November last year, has given the completion of his examination of the subject (February, 1899).

The BISHOP OF SALISBURY :

Placed the Society in possession of a full description of a most interesting Coptic MS. presented to him by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria (March).

It contains the Service of the Consecration of a Church, Altar, and Tank, according to the ritual of the Coptic-Jacobite Church ; and it is sincerely to be hoped that sufficient assistance will be forthcoming to defray the cost of printing the whole of the MS.

The REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

A note on the Biblical account of Sennacherib's murder (May).

The REV. PROF. DR. CHEYNE :

The Land of Cabul (May) ; and again, notes on the Blessings of Asher, Naphtali, and Joseph ; and on the Hebrew words **אשכנז** and **מנור** (June).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Dancing worship (June).

MISS M. BRODRICK and MISS A. ANDERSON MORTON :

An account, with diagrams and illustrations, of the Tomb of Pepi Ankh (Khua) near Sharona (January).

J. HERBERT WALKER :

Note referring to the analysis of an Egyptian cosmetic (February).

WALTER L. NASH :

A Scarab of Queen Aahmes, wife of Thothmes I (February).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

A portrait-statue of Psammetic-Neith, in the Gizeh Museum.

E. TOWRY WHYTE :

An account of a unique Egyptian bronze mummy-case for a fish, in his collection (February).

PROF. SAYCE (*President*) :

A new Egyptian king, the predecessor of Kheops (March) ; some Old Empire Inscriptions from El-Kab (March) ; note on recent discoveries at Karnak (March).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Yanoem of the Menepthah Stele (March).

G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER :

Note on the Tomb of Pepi-ankh kua (March).

E. TOWRY WHYTE :

An Egyptian Musical Instrument in the collection of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, Dir. S.A. (March).

WALTER L. NASH :

A cylinder of Pepi I, found at Erment (May).

W. H. RYLANDS :

Sketch of an engraved shell, formerly in the collection of Mr. Walter Myers (May).

F. LEGGE :

An account of the recent discoveries at Abydos and Negadah, with a number of illustrations of the objects found (June).

F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR. S.A. :

Notes on some Egyptian deities : these include illustrations of interesting examples of Apuat, Anupt, and Set, from figures in his own collection (June).

W. E. CRUM :

Notes on the name Pachomius ;
"Above" and "Below" in Coptic ;
Egyptian "Orantes" (June).

F. LL. GRIFFITH :

1. Notes on Hieroglyphics, the Head, the Papyrus Roll, the Soldier ;
2. Transliteration of Demotic ;
3. Notes on Mythology, Eileithyia in Egypt, the god of Busiris, Hermes Trismegistus (November).

GENERAL HASTINGS :

The XXIIInd Egyptian Dynasty (November).

PERCY E. NEWBERRY :

Note on a new Egyptian King of the XIIIth Dynasty (November).

E. TOWRY WHYTE :

Note on an Egyptian Bolt in his own collection (November).

WALTER L. NASH :

Egyptian figures of Fish (December).

PERCY E. NEWBERRY :

Note on the Egyptian Persea Tree (December).

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*) :

- The new Babylonian Chronological Tablet (January) ;
Contract from the country of Khana (January) ;
An early Babylonian document relating to the Shuhites (January).

ALFRED BOISSIER :

Deux Fables Assyriennes, K. 3456 (January).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

Note on the words *Adar* and *Sartu* (February).

PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL :

The continuation of his Assyriological Notes (March).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

Assyriological Notes (March).

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES :

A new Babylonian King of the period of the first Dynasty of Babylon, with incidental references to Immerum and Anmanilla (May) ;

Major Mockler-Ferryman's tablet, giving the names of Temple Overseers (May) ;

An interesting cylinder-seal, referring to the name Ninos (May).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

Note on the official title LU-SU-PA-MES (May).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Ashteroth-Karnaim (May).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

The Biblical account of Sennacherib's murder (May).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

Assyriological Notes (June).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

On the name Chedorlaomer (June).

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS :

Notes on Assyriology (November) ;

Note on „ (December).

SIR H. H. HOWORTH :

Ancient Babylonian Picture-Writing (December).

STANLEY A. COOK :

Some recent Palmyrene Inscriptions (February).

Note on Palmyrene Inscriptions (May).

DR. HAYES WARD :

The inscribed Stones from Hamath (February).

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*) :

Hittite Notes (June).

PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL :

Notes on the Hittite Inscription (June).

The Society was represented at the Congress of Orientalists, held at Rome in September last, by Mr. Arthur Cates (*Vice-President*) and Mr. F. Legge ; and an interesting account of the Meeting by Mr. Legge will be found in the *Proceedings* for November.

It will have been noticed that some of the above papers and notes were very completely illustrated ; this was only possible through the kindness of Mr. Walter L. Nash, who with some considerable labour and cost generously made all the photographs required for nearly the whole of the illustrations in the present volume. Our best thanks are due to him for this valuable assistance, which has enabled the Council to add more and better plates than they would otherwise have been able to publish.

As stated in my last report, it was to Mr. Nash that the Society was indebted for the Index to the second series of ten volumes of the *Proceedings* (XI to XX). This has now been printed, and I can only hope that those Members who have not already assisted in the cost of printing it, by taking a copy, will not delay any longer. It must be remembered that the labour of compiling the Index was a gift to the Society, and that the Council wished if possible to be able to defray the cost of printing it by subscription, without touching the ordinary funds of the Society.

The necessary completion of the nine volumes of *Transactions* already published, in the form of a complete Index to the whole series, making a tenth volume, would render the contents much more available to both scholars and students. Again the Society has been indebted to Mr. Nash, who has prepared this Index, and presented the manuscript to the Society. It is quite complete, and only waits, as stated in the circular sent to all the members, the necessary number of subscribers to enable the Council to have it printed.

The work so kindly undertaken by M. Naville, of completing the late President's translation of the Book of the Dead, is well in progress, and it is hoped that in a short time the work of printing will commence.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been increased ; and it has been the special endeavour of the Council to collect together as many as possible of the journals and other publications containing matter relating to Biblical Archæology, in order that they may be ready for reference by the members of the Society. Many donations of books have been made by both members and authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing a number of works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service. It is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to allow the Council to make the Library as complete as could be wished.

A list of many works especially wanted for the use of the Members has been printed many times at the end of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made by the presentation of some of the books required. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of those students who use our Library, that those Members who have duplicate copies of those works entered in the list, or others connected with the objects of the Society, will present them, and thus give to students the opportunity and benefit of using them.

Much inconvenience, and correspondence which should be unnecessary, has been caused by some Members not paying their subscriptions regularly. I must call attention to the notices issued in the *Proceedings* at the end of each year, one of which points out *that the subscriptions are due in advance in January*. I need hardly point out that if subscriptions are not paid regularly, difficulty and trouble occurs as to the amount of money at the disposal of the Council.

The cost of printing the publications is necessarily very great, and it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out year after year, that, in order that the work may be properly carried out, liberal contributions are to be desired from the Members.

At last I have the pleasure of announcing that owing to the kind donations made by members of the Council and others, it has been

possible to entirely remove the old printing debt, for which purpose the following gifts were received :—

	£	s.	d.
Arthur Cates (<i>Vice-President</i>)	25	0	0
A. Peckover (<i>Vice-President</i>)	20	0	0
Walter Morrison, M.P. (<i>Vice-President</i>)	10	0	0
F. D. Mocatta, (<i>Vice-President</i>)	5	0	0
Joseph Pollard	5	0	0
Rev. James Marshall	5	0	0
J. H. Tritton	3	3	0

We have also to thank M. P. J. de Horrack, one of the Honorary Members, for a donation of £5 towards the general expenses.

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1899 shows that the funds available for that year have been £718 14s. 4d., and the expenditure for the same period has been £653 15s. 10d. The balance carried forward from 1898 was £67 7s. 5d., and that from the year just ended is £64 18s. 6d.

The Secretary having read the Report, a vote of thanks to the Secretary was proposed by the Rev. J. Marshall, seconded by Mr. J. Pollard, and carried.

The Statement of Accounts was read and explained by the Chairman. It was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. J. Pollard, and carried, that the Report and Statement of Accounts be received, adopted, and printed.



The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1900.

President,

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., &c., &c.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.

ARTHUR CATES.

F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., &c.

WALTER MORRISON, M.P.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D., &c.

ALEXANDER PECKOVER, LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D. (Canon of Canterbury).

THE RIGHT REV. S. W. ALLEN, D.D. (R.C. Bishop of Shrewsbury).

GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., &c., &c.

Council.

REV. CHARLES JAMES BALL, M.A.

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BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL F. E. HASTINGS, C.B.

The Historical Period, Kings, Judges.

Within the historical period we would include the entire interval from the passage of the Jordan by the Israelites under Joshua, to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The chronology of this period can, we believe, be established in a perfectly satisfactory manner from Biblical sources, and since the date of the fall of Jerusalem can be demonstrated by means of statements contained in the Scriptures and in Ptolemy's canon, it follows that, if successful, we arrive at so remote a date as that of the Exodus from Egypt with a considerable amount of precision, more than has yet been accorded to any date hypothecated to that event.

Owing to the dissimilarity between the solar year of the modern calendar of civilised nations, consisting of twelve months of practically uniform duration, and the Hebrew computation with its year of fluctuating length, requiring an additional month every third year at the most, it is not to be expected that the Hebrews, and consequently their historians, regarded a year, or a number of years, in precisely the same sense as we do at the present day. In consequence of the unvarying length of the solar year we are able to reckon from any date in one year to the same date in any other, and to express the interval as so many years, with the understanding that the period amounts to multiples of twelve months equal to the given number of years. It is evident from the peculiarities of a soli-lunar method of computing time, the Israelites could not have calculated years in the same manner; the occurrence of an embolismic month every third year, and occasionally oftener, would have interrupted and disturbed the calculation. It follows, therefore, before we can expect to form a correct idea of the various periods mentioned in Scripture, from the entrance into Palestine to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, it is requisite first to ascertain the

precise meaning attached to the term "year" by the historians who chronicled the events recorded in this interval.

The necessity for this course is at once apparent, if we for a moment compare the duration of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah from the commencement of the rupture which followed on the death of Solomon, to the deaths of Ahaziah of Judah and Jehoram of Israel. We have in these events points in which the histories of the two kingdoms synchronize. In the first, the disruption of the kingdom took place almost immediately after the death of Solomon, on the occasion of Rehoboam's visit to Shechem, to be there acknowledged as king by the tribes of Israel; in the second, Ahaziah and Jehoram met their deaths at the hands of Jehu within a few days, if not hours, of each other. Notwithstanding the concurrence of the events which mark the commencement and end of this portion of their history, the terms of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel during this period, as recorded in the Scriptures, amount to ninety-five and ninety-eight years respectively. Their several reigns are as shown below, omitting Zimri's usurpation of seven days as immaterial to chronology:—

<i>House of Judah.</i>				<i>House of Israel.</i>			
Rehoboam	...	17	years	Jeroboam	...	22	years
Abijah	...	3	"	Nadab	...	2	"
Asa	...	41	"	Baasha	...	24	"
Jehoshaphat	...	25	"	Elah	...	2	"
Jehoram	...	8	"	Omri	...	12	"
Ahaziah	...	1	"	Ahab*	...	22	"
				Ahaziah	...	2	"
				Jehoram	...	12	"
Total	...	95	years	Total	...	98	years

How is the discrepancy to be reconciled?

The reign of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, is stated in three passages to have lasted eleven years.† In each instance his accession and length of reign are given in identical terms: "Zedekiah

* 1 Kings xvi, 29. That the accuracy of this passage is more than doubtful is demonstrated by others, viz., 1 Kings xxii, 40, 41, 51, and 2 Kings iii, 1. These latter harmonize with each other; the first agrees with none.

† 2 Kings xxiv, 18; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 11; Jeremiah lii, 1.

was twenty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem." In the books of Kings and Jeremiah further particulars are given, by which we find that the eleventh year did not extend beyond four months and nine days, "So the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of King Zedekiah. On the ninth day of the fourth month,"* etc. Again, it is recorded with respect to the siege of Samaria, that Shalmaneser besieged Samaria and took it "at the end of three years";† though the siege is stated to have commenced in the fourth year, and to have terminated in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, which years, it is further stated, corresponded to the seventh and ninth of Hosea's,‡ so that its actual duration was about two years, according to our ideas. Also, since certain years of Hezekiah's reign are mentioned as concurrent with certain years of Hosea's, it is manifest that the years of each king's reign were reckoned from the same starting point, that is, they began simultaneously from the same day. Again, to take a reign coming soon after the commencement of the divided monarchy, it is stated that Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, reigned three years, he having succeeded his father in the eighteenth, and was succeeded by his son in the twentieth, of Jeroboam;§ from which account we perceive that the actual duration of his reign could only have extended to something over two years, though it is recorded as three. Once more, of Nadab it is said that he began to reign in the second year of Asa, and was killed and succeeded by Baasha in Asa's third year, and that he reigned two years;|| similarly in the case of Elah, the son of Baasha.¶

From a consideration of these examples, it appears that Hebrew writers reckoned, not the actual duration of a reign from its commencement to its close, but the years of their current reckoning in which a king reigned, inclusive of both the first and last; and recorded the number so obtained as the length of his reign;** in

* 2 Kings xxv, 2, 3; Jeremiah lii, 5, 6.

† 2 Kings xviii, 9, 10.

‡ There is a difficulty in connection with these years, which need not be dealt with in this place.

§ 1 Kings xv, 1, 2, 8, 9.

|| 1 Kings xv, 25, 28.

¶ 1 Kings xvi, 8, 10.

** Dr. Angus, in the *Bible Handbook*, p. 217, remarks as follows on this peculiarity of Hebrew writers:—"Jewish historians, for example, speak of the reign of a king which is continued through one year and parts of two others, as a three-years' reign." Also in Sir W. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. *Day*, we find, "By the Jewish rule of inclusive counting, one day of a year is counted as a whole year."

cases where intermediate years are mentioned, as in the instance of Hezekiah and Hosea, those of their existing computation are referred to. From this method of inclusive reckoning, it follows that, in most instances, a king is credited with one year more than he actually reigned, according to modern ideas, and also that the year which saw the conclusion of one king's reign and the commencement of his successor's, would be reckoned twice, consequently any chronology based on the lengths of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, taken absolutely, must err by excess.

It also, of necessity, follows that the years of a king's reign were calculated from the first day of the year of his accession, that is from the first of Nisan, for in the Scriptural record the sacred, and not the civil, year is recognised,* and similarly with other definite periods, such as the administration of the judges, terms of servitude, and so on. These conclusions are further established by the mention of the months Zif, Bul and Ethanim, in connection with the building of Solomon's temple and its subsequent dedication;† these were the second, eighth and seventh respectively of the sacred year. Also with respect to the siege of Samaria; the siege was commenced in the fourth year of Hezekiah's reign and concluded at the end of his sixth year, hence it is stated the city was taken "at the end of three years." A yet further confirmation is to be found in the book of the prophet Ezekiel, in which it will be seen that the years of Jehoiachin's

There are instances of this mode of computation in comparatively recent times. On the introduction of the Julian year by Caesar, it was directed that every fourth year should be leap year, or bissextile. The priests, who were responsible for the calendar, understood this instruction to mean four years, inclusive of two leap years, consequently they made every third year bissextile, an error which was corrected by Augustus; in effect the augurs reckoned three years as four.

The most striking example of any is, perhaps, to be found in the New Testament; the period during which the Son of God was subjected to the power of death is invariably described as three days, its actual duration being about forty hours, that is, one entire day and portions of two others.

* "In the first month, which is the month Nisan the twelfth month, which is the month Adar" (Esther iii, 7). "But it is the almost invariable practice of Jewish writers to date the years of their kings from the first (Jewish) day or first Nisan of the year in which the actual epoch occurred." Browne's *Ordo Saeclorum*, p. 27. In thus acting Hebrew chroniclers anticipated, by a matter of fifteen centuries or more, Ptolemy's principle of dating the reigns of the kings recorded in his canon from the first day of the Egyptian year.

† 1 Kings vi, 1, 38; viii, 2.

captivity are reckoned coincidently with those of Zedekiah's reign, as may be perceived by a comparison of Ezekiel i, 2; xxiv, 1; xxxiii, 21; and 2 Kings xxv, 1.

Before approaching the chronology of the period of the judges and early kings, it will be convenient first to take under consideration the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel from the epoch of the division of the kingdom, in order clearly to demonstrate these characteristics of the sacred record, which is rendered possible by the parallel history of the two kingdoms.

There is one more circumstance to which due consideration should be given in extracting the chronology of the period covered by the duration of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. That the historical books of the Scriptures are not free from contradictions is a matter which does not admit of uncertainty; from whatever cause arising, we meet with statements that are incompatible.* Some of these are comparatively simple, as for instance that respecting Ahaziah, the grandson of Jehoshaphat; in one passage his age is given as twenty-two at his accession,† in another as forty-two;‡ but the latter statement is obviously an error, for it makes him older than his father. Others, again, are more intricate, for example, the particulars regarding Jehoram, king of Israel, in 2 Kings i, 17 and iii, 1. Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, was associated with his father on the throne, and from these passages it would be inferred that Jehoram of Israel succeeded his brother in the second year of Jehoram of Judah's co-sovereignty, but this conclusion is inadmissible in the face of 2 Kings viii, 16, where we learn that it was in the fifth year of the reign of Jehoram of Israel, that the son of Jehoshaphat was admitted to a share in the government with his father. Again, Ahaz, king of Judah, reigned sixteen years;§ in his twelfth year Hoshea ascended the throne of Israel,|| and in the third year of the latter Hezekiah succeeded his father Ahaz.¶ These statements are inconsistent, and it is evident that in both these cases there must be some inaccuracy, which may be either clerical or,

* "It is well known that the text of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles is in a worse condition than that of any other of the inspired writings; nor must we ascribe to the author what is really due to the errors of copyists." (*The Bible Handbook*, p. 434.)

† 2 Kings viii, 26.

|| 2 Kings xvii, 1.

‡ 2 Chron. xxii, 2.

¶ 2 Kings xviii, 1.

§ 2 Kings xvi, 2.

since the historian is a Jewish one, the inexactness may be in respect to the part taken in the narrative by the king of Israel.* Hence we conclude that chronology must be based on the history of the kings of Judah, rather than that of the kings of Israel, and this conclusion is supported by the circumstance that, as we approach the epoch of the termination of the kingdom of Israel, the records concerning that kingdom become increasingly confused and involved; the disorder of the time is manifested in the history of the period.† We may also expect, if this interpretation of the Hebrew system of computation be correct, to find the detection of corruptions which have crept into the text will be facilitated, inasmuch as the true reading will be rendered more apparent.

We can now resume the examination of the history of the divided monarchy, from the death of Solomon to the successful usurpation of Jehu. For the better understanding of this portion of our subject, it is requisite to adopt a succession of years which shall be independent of the reigns of these two lines of kings, but to which each can be referred, and which may be conveniently termed the Era of the

* The length of the reign of Ahab, already referred to, is another instance; note also 2 Chron. xvi, 1. Baasha died in the 26th of Asa (1 Kings xvi, 8). There are also references to records of the kingdom of Israel which are lost; for example: "now the rest of the acts of Nadab and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?" and so on with others.

† These statements may appear to traverse the views of some regarding the inspiration of Scripture, or rather that particular view which holds the verbal inspiration of every passage. Such an opinion, doubtless, is applicable to the prophetic portions of the Bible, but to receive it as pertinent to the historical books is not borne out by Scripture itself. The question is too large a one to be adequately treated within the limits of a note, but it may be pointed out that the historical books, as they now exist, are compilations, the materials for which were taken from works previously extant. We have mention of the books of Jasher, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Abijah, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Isaiah, of the kings of Israel, besides other evidences that the books, as they now are, were written, in some cases, long after the occurrence of the events recorded in them. Considered as a history, the Scriptural record is peculiarly incomplete; great prominence is given to certain periods or incidents, as the reigns of Saul, David, or Solomon, the exploits of Samson, while the barest possible mention is given to long periods of history. It would appear, therefore, that the inspiration of this portion of the Scriptures lay in the selection by the writer of those facts which the wisdom of God directed should be preserved for our instruction, the materials at his disposal being, however, historical. The difficulties attending the history of the kingdom of Israel, and their absence from the records of the kingdom of Judah, can not be accounted for in any other way.

Dinarchy, the first year of which would be identical with the first of the reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

The accompanying historical table exhibits the succession of the sovereigns of the two kingdoms; the years in which the several monarchs began and ceased to reign, in respect to each other; with the years of the era common to both. It reconciles the reigns of the two houses, is in agreement with every statement in the Scriptural record connected with the duration of the reigns of the kings of Judah;* and with those of the kings of Israel, excepting the length of Jeroboam's tenure of the throne.† We learn that Rehoboam's decease occurred at the end of the year, for he reigned seventeen years, and Abijah's accession is placed in the eighteenth of Jeroboam, also that Jeroboam and Ahab reigned twenty-one and twenty years respectively, instead of twenty-two each, and that the entire period of this first portion of the history of the divided monarchy extended to eighty-eight years.

An examination of this table will demonstrate the method in which Hebrew writers calculated and recorded the years of their history, the principles of which have already been affirmed. Abijah's three years corresponded to the whole of Jeroboam's eighteenth, nineteenth and a portion of his twentieth. Nadab's two years may have been six months, though it was probably more; he began to reign in the second year of Asa, corresponding to the twenty-first of the era, and was assassinated by Baasha in the following year, third of Asa, or twenty-second of the era. Similarly, Elah's two years amount to no more than that his reign began in one year and ended in the next. The reign of Jehoram, the son and successor of Jehoshaphat, falls naturally into its place, the first four years of his reign having been coincident with the last four of his father's. Ahaziah's brief term of sovereignty began and ended in the same year, hence his reign is reckoned as one year.‡ This year may be said to be reckoned three times over, once as the last of Jehoram, once as Ahaziah's sole year, and subsequently as the first of his successor, Athaliah.

* 2 Kings i, 17, cannot be reconciled with 2 Kings viii, 16. The correspondence in the table establishes the accuracy of the latter text.

† That Ahab could not have reigned twenty-two years is, as has been pointed out, an incontrovertible conclusion from Scripture itself.

‡ Exceptions appear to be made in instances where reigns did not exceed six months' duration, as in the cases of Zechariah, Shallum, Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin, whose reigns are given in months.

TABLE I. Reigns of the Kings of Judah and Israel from the death of Solomon to the deaths of Ahaziah and Jehoram at the hands of Jehu.

Era of the Dynasty.	Kings of Judah.	Inter-mediate years.	Kings of Israel.	Inter-mediate years.	Authorities; notes.
1	Rehoboam	1	Jeroboam	1	Rehoboam, 1 Kings xi, 43; Jeroboam, 1 Kings xii, 19, 20.
17	"	17	"	17	1 Kings xiv, 21; 2 Chron. xii, 13.
18	Abijah	1	"	18	Rehoboam reigned to the end of his 17th year, since Abijah did not succeed until Jeroboam's 18th year.
20	"	3	"	20	1 Kings xv, 1; 2 Chron. xiii, 1.
20	Asa	1	"	20	1 Kings xv, 2; 2 Chron. xiii, 2.
21	"	2	"	21	1 Kings xv, 9; 2 Chron. xiv, 1.
21	"	2	Nadab	21	1 Kings xiv, 20; 2 Chron. xiii, 20.
22	"	3	"	2	1 Kings xv, 25.
22	"	3	Baasha	2	1 Kings xv, 25, 28.
45	"	26	"	1	1 Kings xv, 28, 33.
45	"	26	Elah	24	1 Kings xv, 33.
46	"	27	"	1	1 Kings xvi, 8.
46	"	27	"	2	1 Kings xvi, 8, 10.
57	"	38	Omri	1	1 Kings xvi, 15, 16, 21-23.
57	"	38	"	12	1 Kings xvi, 23.
57	"	38	Ahab	1	1 Kings xvi, 29.
60	"	41	"	4	1 Kings xv, 10; 2 Chron. xvi, 13.
60	Jehoshaphat	1	"	4	1 Kings xv, 24; 1 Kings xxii, 41; 2 Chron. xvii, 1.
76	"	17	Ahaziah	20	These two passages, with 2 Kings iii, 1, are inconsistent with 1 Kings xvi, 29, and establish the corruption of the text in that passage.
77	"	18	"	2	See also 2 Kings i, 17 which appears to be corrupt; compare with 2 Kings viii, 16.
77	"	18	Jehoram	1	Jehoram of Judah associated with his father on the throne; possibly on the occasion of the campaign against Moab.
81	Jehoram	22	"	5	2 Kings iii, being left at Jerusalem to carry on the government in his father's absence, and retained his position subsequently, 2 Kings xx, 31.
84	Jehoshaphat	25	"	8	1 Kings xxii, 42, 50; 2 Chron. xx, 31.
84	Jehoram	4	"	8	1 Kings xxii, 50, 2 Chron. xxi, 4; Jehoram sole monarch of Judah.
88	"	8	"	12	Jehoram of Judah, 2 Kings viii, 17; 2 Chron. xxi, 5, 20. Jehoram of Israel 2 Kings iii, 1.
88	Ahaziah	1	"	12	2 Kings viii, 25, 26; 2 Chron. xxii, 1, 2. See also 2 Kings ix, 29; this last passage is inconsistent with the two first mentioned.

TABLE I Continued to the Fall of Jerusalem.

Era of the Dynasty.	Kings of Judah.	Inter-mediate years.	Kings of Israel.	Inter-mediate years.	Authorities; notes.
88	Athaliah	1	Jehu ...	1	Athaliah, 2 Kings xi, 1-3; 2 Chron. xxii, 10-12; Jehu, 2 Kings ix, 13, 24.
94	"	7	"	7	2 Kings xi, 4-20; 2 Chron. xxiii, 1-15.
115	Jehoash	1	"	28	2 Kings xi, 21; xii, 1; 2 Chron. xxiv, 1.
116	"	22	"	1	2 Kings x, 36.
132	"	23	Jehoahaz	17	Text here shows that Jehu's reign closed coincidentally with the previous year.
133	"	39	"	1	Text here agrees with neither 2 Kings xiii, 1, nor with 2 Kings xiv, 1. Jehoahaz reigned 17 years inclusive from the 23rd of Jehoash, consequently to his 39th; this agrees with Amaziah's accession in the 2nd year of Joash.
147	"	40	Joash ...	2	
161	"	1	"	16	
187	Amaziah	15	"	1	
198	"	29	Jero-boam II...	15	
199	"	1	"	41	
208	"	27	"	1	
210	"	38	"	1	
211	"	39	Zechariah	1	
212	"	48	"	10	
213	"	50	Shallum	1	
228	"	51	Menahem	2	
231	"	52	"	1	
239	"	52	Pekahiah	1	
240	"	52	"	2	
241	"	52	"	17	
242	"	52	"	20	
243	"	52	"	1	
244	"	52	"	1	
245	"	52	"	1	
246	"	52	"	1	
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243	"	"	"	16	"	"	5	2 Kings xvi, 2; 2 Chron. xxviii, 1.
244	Hezekiah	...	1	6	2 Kings xvi, 20; 2 Chron. xxviii, 27; xxix, 1.	to the end of his 16th year, Hezekiah's reign having com-		
247	"	...	4	9	2 Kings xviii, 9.	menced with the new year, 2 Chron. xxix, 3, 17, and with		
249	"	...	6	11	2 Kings xviii, 10.	the 6th of Hoshua agreeably to 2 Kings xvii, 1; this passage		
272	Manasseh	...	29	...	2 Kings xviii, 2; 2 Chron. xxix, 1.	again does not harmonise with 2 Kings xviii, 1. These and		
326	"	...	55	...	2 Kings xxi, 1; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 33.	other discrepancies appear to indicate the disorder that		
327	Amon	...	1	...	2 Kings xxi, 18; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 1.	prevailed in the kingdom of Israel towards its close.		
339	Josiah	...	2	...	2 Kings xxi, 19, 23; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 20.			
344	"	...	13	...	2 Kings xxi, 24, 26; 2 Chron. xxxiii, 21, 24.	of the 3rd year of the siege. End		
357	"	...	18	...	Jeremiah xxv, 3.	of the kingdom of Israel.		
358	Jehoahaz	...	31	...	2 Kings xxiii, 23; 2 Chron. xxxv, 19.			
361	Jehoiakim	...	4	...	2 Kings xxii, 1; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 1.	Year of the great passover.		
368	"	...	11	...	2 Kings xxiii, 30, 31; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 1, 2.			
	Jehoiachin	...	4	...	2 Kings xxiii, 34; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 4.	Since the 35th year from Josiah's acces-		
		...	4	...	Jeremiah xxv, 1, 3.	sion corresponds to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, the		
		...	11	...	2 Kings xxiii, 36; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 5.	latter's 1st necessarily falls in the year E.D. 358.		
		...	4	...	2 Kings xxiv, 8; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 9.			
369	Zedekiah	...	1	...	from the 18th of Josiah, E.D. 344; consequently the 30th falls			
379	"	...	11	...	in E.D. 373, but E.D. 373 also equals the 5th of Jehoiachin's			
		...	...	...	captivity, which must therefore have commenced with E.D. 369,			
		...	...	...	hence his reign of 3 months is placed at the end of the year			
		...	...	...	E.D. 368. Also Nebuchadnezzar took him prisoner in the			
		...	...	...	8th year of his own reign; this corresponds to the 11th of			
		...	...	...	Jehoiakim, <i>i.e.</i> , to E.D. 368, 2 Kings xxiv, 12.			
		...	...	...	2 Kings xxiv, 17; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 10.			
		...	...	...	2 Kings xxiv, 18; xxv, 2-6; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 11.			
		...	...	...	11; Jer. xxxix, 1-4; lli, 4-8.			
		...	...	...	End of the kingdom of Judah.			

* Hoshea's conspiracy occurred in the fourth year of Ahaz, whose predecessor, Jotham, reigned sixteen years, but $16 + 4 = 20$. This appears to account for the otherwise contradictory passage 2 Kings xv, 30, although the period inclusively reckoned from the first of Jotham would be nineteen years. Dr. Julius Oppert declares the discovery in a cuneiform inscription of a Menahem II, whose reign, unrecorded in Scripture, would account for this interval.—*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, January, 1898.*

Having established the method in which Hebrew historians recorded the years of their chronicles, it is possible now to enter upon the consideration of the longer period from the usurpations of Jehu and Athaliah to the fall of Jerusalem, embracing a period of nearly three centuries, with some degree of confidence in the general accuracy of our conclusions.

The history of the kingdom of Judah presents no special difficulty; the succession of sovereigns proceeds in unbroken order; at one point only is there a suggestion of uncertainty, namely, at the accession of Uzziah, or as he is otherwise named, Azariah: "And all the people of Judah took Azariah, who was sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his father, Amaziah."* His subjects conspired against Amaziah and put him to death, after which they placed Azariah on the throne. There is no hint of a deferred succession, but rather the contrary; being old enough to reign, he was raised to the throne without delay. The obscurity arises from the following passage: "In the twenty and seventh year of Jeroboam, king of Israel, began Azariah, the son of Amaziah, king of Judah, to reign."† Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years, and in his fifteenth year Jeroboam the Second succeeded to the throne of Israel, consequently Azariah succeeded in the fifteenth of Jeroboam, not the twenty-seventh, unless we admit an interregnum of twelve years, a supposition which is inconsistent with the sacred narrative, and for which there is no other evidence. There is, however, an explanation of the corruption which removes the ambiguity. Jeroboam reigned forty-one years, consequently his fifteenth year was also his twenty-seventh, reckoned backwards from the end of his reign;‡ and it would seem that through some cause, possibly the misjudgment of a copyist, the one ordinal has been substituted for the other. Another reason for rejecting the possibility of there having been an interregnum prior to the accession of Azariah may be found in the circumstance that if this be allowed, the interruption in the succession of the kings of Israel which followed on the death of Jeroboam II must be extended to twenty-three years, a more than sufficient difficulty in itself, and involving an addition of twelve years to the chronology of the period from the Exodus down to the Fall of Jerusalem, which is inadmissible.

* 2 Kings xiv, 21; 2 Chron. xxvi, 1.

† 2 Kings xv, 1.

‡ *Ordo Saeclorum*, p. 239.

There is also a certain amount of intricacy connected with the reigns of the kings who succeeded Josiah. Josiah was followed by Jehoahaz, whose brief reign lasted three months only. The death of Josiah, the accession of Jehoahaz and of his successor Jehoiakim, all three might therefore have occurred in the same year; the question is to determine whether this was the case or not. In the book of Jeremiah xxv, 1-3, we find that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the twenty-third inclusive, reckoned from the thirteenth of Josiah, and consequently the thirty-fifth from Josiah's accession; hence Jehoiakim's first year coincided with Josiah's thirty-second; but since Josiah reigned thirty-one years only, his last year may be considered to include the three months of Jehoahaz, whose reign thus closed the year, and Jehoiakim's accession followed with the succeeding year.

The reign of Jehoiakim's successor, Jehoiachin, and the accession of Zedekiah is determined by a similar process. The book of Ezekiel opens with the statement that the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity coincided with the thirtieth year from some epoch. This reckoning was made from the year of the great passover, which was held in the eighteenth of Josiah.* Since Jehoiachin's captivity synchronized with Zedekiah's reign,† the fifth year of Zedekiah also corresponds to this thirtieth year, and his first with the twenty-sixth from the same date, but the last of Jehoiakim is the twenty-fifth from the great passover; we may therefore conclude that Jehoiachin's reign of three months, or three months and ten days,‡ coincided with the close of that year, a deduction which is confirmed by the years accorded to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Jehoiachin's captivity lasted thirty-seven years.§ On the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month he was released from imprisonment and treated with kindness by Evil Merodach, king of Babylon, in the year of the latter's accession. This event, according to Ptolemy, dates from the 11th of January, B.C. 561. Ptolemy commences the reigns of the monarchs in his Canon from the first day of the Egyptian year, consequently Ilvarodamus or Evil Merodach may

* 2 Kings xxiii, 23. *Ordo Saeclorum*, p. 167.

† On making Jehoiachin a prisoner, Nebuchadnezzar placed Zedekiah on the throne of Judah; 2 Kings xxiv, 15, 17. See also and compare 2 Kings xxv, 1, with Ezekiel xxiv, 1, 2.

‡ 2 Chronicles xxxvi, 9.

§ 2 Kings xxv, 27; Jeremiah lli, 31.

have succeeded to the throne of Babylon late in the year B.C. 561, in which case Jehoiachin's liberation took place in the spring of B.C. 560, the twelfth month of the Jewish year corresponding to February-March. On the other hand, if Evil Merodach was actually regnant early in the year before the first of Nisan, the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's imprisonment came to its completion in February-March, B.C. 561. The Scriptural account is very concise, and admits of either supposition, although it may be said to give the impression that Jehoiachin's release was an act of clemency shown by Evil Merodach at the commencement of his reign, and thus favours the latter view rather than the former. This conclusion is supported by the statement of Josephus, that "after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach his son succeeded in the kingdom, who immediately set Jeconiah at liberty, and esteemed him amongst his most intimate friends."* Hales also cites a Jewish tradition to the effect that Evil Merodach had been imprisoned by his father, during which confinement he formed an intimacy with Jehoiachin.†

So far the evidence is in favour of Jehoiachin's captivity being brought to a close in the year B.C. 561, but the point is an important one and requires substantiation. The two alternatives may be thus stated:—

The thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity closed B.C. 561 or 560.

His first began, also the first of Zedekiah's reign, B.C. 598 or 597. Zedekiah's eleventh, and fall of Jerusalem, B.C. 588 or 587.

The book of Daniel commences with the following words: "In the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem and besieged it."‡ The same event is referred to in 2 Kings xxiv, 1, and 2 Chronicles xxxvi, 6, from which several accounts we may conclude that Jehoiakim submitted to Nebuchadnezzar, who confirmed him in his kingdom as a dependent sovereign, and contented himself with plunder from the temple and a number of prisoners, amongst whom were Daniel and

* "Antiquities," X, XI, 2.

† Hales's "Analysis," Vol. II, Seventh Period.

‡ Daniel here speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as king before he began to reign; compare Daniel i, 1, 5, 18, with ii, 1. It is necessary to note this in order to avoid confusion in what follows.

his companions. Jeremiah informs us that Jehoiakim's fourth year was also the first of Nebuchadnezzar,* from which statement it is manifest that Nebuchadnezzar's reign was computed by Jeremiah, and by the writer of the second book of Kings, probably Jeremiah himself, from the first of Nisan which marked the commencement of Jehoiakim's fourth year; also that the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as stated by them, were reckoned coincidentally with, and precisely in the same manner as that of their own kings, a presumption which is corroborated by other passages, as for instance those in which the tenth and eleventh years of Zedekiah are stated to correspond to the eighteenth and nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar;† for if consecutive years of two monarchs correspond, they must of necessity be reckoned from the same date.

Daniel and his associates were taken prisoners in the third year of Jehoiakim's reign, and allowing time for the journey, it may be concluded they reached Babylon the end of that year, or early in the year following. For three years they were educated for the king's service, at the end of which they went through an examination, and were finally admitted to his presence.‡ Then these three years of probation coincided with the fourth, fifth and sixth of Jehoiakim's reign. In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar he dreamt his dream, which Daniel was eventually called upon to reveal and interpret.§ Daniel, at Babylon, would obviously be ignorant of the reckoning for Nebuchadnezzar's reign adopted by Jeremiah, and even if he became acquainted with it in after years, which no doubt he did,|| he would still have recorded the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign as he knew them to be; we may therefore expect to find his reckoning identical, not with that of Jeremiah, but with that of Ptolemy, who places the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's reign in January, B.C. 604. The third year of Daniel's pupilage then corresponds to this first of Nebuchadnezzar;¶ it also agrees with the sixth of Jehoiakim, consequently the fourth of Jehoiakim, and with it the first of Nebuchadnezzar according to the computation followed by Jeremiah and the

* Jeremiah xxv, 1.

† 2 Kings xxv, 8; Jeremiah xxxii, 1.

‡ Daniel i, 5, 18, 19.

§ Daniel ii, 1.

|| Daniel ix, 2.

¶ If one or more years be allowed to have elapsed between Daniel's probation and Nebuchadnezzar's accession, the fourth of Jehoiakim will be thrown, to a corresponding extent, still farther back; if the second year of his probation corresponded to the first of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel's interpretation of the dream was delivered while he was yet a pupil. Neither supposition is tenable.

compiler of the second book of Kings, falls two years earlier, in B.C. 606.*

In the account of the siege and capture of Jerusalem contained in 2 Kings xxv, we are told the city was taken in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, which is also stated to have been the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar. Since the first of Nebuchadnezzar is placed in B.C. 606, the nineteenth necessarily falls in B.C. 588, and this result is in harmony with that previously derived from the calculation based on the duration of Jehoiachin's captivity, the thirty-seventh year of which accordingly came to a close early in the year B.C. 561.†

We may here conveniently review a number of chronological statements contained in the Scriptures, and compare them with the results set forth in the historical table.

I.

4th year of Jehoiakim‡	=	1st of Nebuchadnezzar.
11th year of Zedekiah§	=	19th of Nebuchadnezzar.

Table.

4th year of Jehoiakim	= 361	} = 19 years.
11th year of Zedekiah	= 379	

* A diagram will render this calculation clearer :

B.C.	Nebuchadnezzar after Daniel and Ptolemy.	Daniel's Pupilage and Nebuchadnezzar after Jeremiah.	Jehoiakim.
609	Jerusalem besieged, Jehoiakim submits to Nebuchadnezzar.	1	1
608			2
607			3
606			4
605			5
604	1	2	6
603	2 Daniel interprets	3	

The first of Jehoiakim in B.C. 609 also agrees with the result already arrived at on other grounds.

† If Nebuchadnezzar's 19th year be calculated from Ptolemy's date, B.C. 604, it would fall in B.C. 586, a year which it is impossible to reconcile with the reckoning based on the length of Jehoiachin's imprisonment.

‡ Jeremiah xxv, 1.

§ 2 Kings xxv, 2, 8.

II.

4th year of Jehoiakim	=	1st of Nebuchadnezzar.
11th year of Jehoiakim*	=	8th of Nebuchadnezzar.
3 months of Jehoiachin	=	8th of Nebuchadnezzar.

Table.

4th year of Jehoiakim	= 361	} = 8 years.
11th year of Jehoiakim	= 368	
3 months of Jehoiachin	= 368	

III.

From the 13th year of Josiah to the 4th year of Jehoiakim there are twenty-three years.†

Table.

13th of Josiah	= 339	} = 23 years.
4th year of Jehoiakim	= 361	

IV.

From the 18th year of Josiah, the year of the great passover, to the 5th year of Zedekiah there extend thirty years.‡

Table.

18th year of Josiah	= 344	} = 30 years.
5th year of Zedekiah	= 373	

V.

Amaziah king of Judah survived Joash king of Israel fifteen years.§

Table.

Joash died	= 147	} = 15 years.
Amaziah died	= 161	

We can now proceed to a consideration of the period extending from the passage of the Jordan to the death of Solomon. The first date which it is possible to establish, after the entry into Palestine, is that of the partition of the country amongst the tribes, which was

* 2 Kings, xxiv, 12.

† Jeremiah xxv, 3.

‡ Ezekiel i, 1, 2.

§ 2 Chronicles xxv, 25.

completed in the seventh year after crossing the river, the interval having been taken up with the conquest of the inhabitants. To determine this year it is necessary to refer to the period of the wandering in the wilderness. It is recorded that Caleb was eighty-five years of age when the division of the land was made, and that he was forty years old when he had been sent by Moses from Kadesh Barnea as one of the spies to ascertain the state of the country.* The despatch and return of the spies took place from about sixteen to eighteen months after the departure from Egypt.†

In the second month of the second year the camp was struck and the Israelites moved from Sinai; eleven days marching brought them to Kadesh Barnea,‡ which place appears to have been their headquarters during the forty years of the wanderings; but allowances have to be made for halts on the way; a month at Kibroth Hattaavah; seven days more for the term of Miriam's exclusion from the camp; possibly a few days more for unrecorded detentions;§ altogether about two months at the least, or to the middle of the fourth month. Allowing a few days at Kadesh before setting out, the departure of the spies may be received as having occurred about the end of July; this would agree with the statement that they started on their mission at "the time of the first ripe grapes.|| Their absence continued, forty days, consequently their return took place not long after the 1st of September, or about eighteen months from the time of their leaving Egypt. Forty-five years having elapsed since the despatch of the spies, it follows that Caleb's appeal to Joshua was made forty-six and a half years after the Exodus, or in the seventh year after crossing the Jordan. The partition of the country may be considered to have been completed in the same year, for we are informed that the "children of Israel divided the land"; also that "the land had rest from war."¶

The next chronological statement to be found is that of the duration of the first servitude, which lasted eight years;** but of the interval separating it from the division of the land, there is no specification. Joshua died at the age of one hundred and ten years,†† and we have also the record that "the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua."‡‡ Joshua was a contemporary of Caleb, and at the

* Joshua xiv, 7-10.

† Numbers x-xiii, 25.

‡ Deuteronomy i, 2.

§ Numbers xi, 35.

|| Numbers xiii, 20.

¶ Joshua xiv, 5, 15.

** Judges iii, 8.

†† Joshua xxiv, 29; Judges ii, 8.

‡‡ Judges ii, 7.

time of the Exodus comparatively a young man,* that is compared with Moses, for he was old enough to have been entrusted with the command of the fighting men of Israel in their encounter at Rephidim with the Amalekites.

If then we assume Joshua's age to have been forty-five at that time, he would have been eighty-five at the passage of the Jordan, and his death would occur twenty-five years later. Joshua and Caleb, at the time of their entry into the land of promise, were the sole survivors of a previous generation; of their contemporaries all whose ages were of twenty years and upwards in the second year of the wanderings died in the wilderness;† then the elders who survived Joshua were about twenty-seven years his junior, consequently about eighty-three years of age at his death. Allowing for the decrease in the duration of human life, which had not yet fallen to the limit of "three score years and ten," we may assume these elders to have lived to attain the age of about ninety-five to a hundred years; therefore we may allow forty years approximately to extend over the interval from the entry into Palestine to the commencement of the first servitude. Such a conclusion agrees with the account of Josephus,‡ who allots to Joshua twenty-five years of life after crossing the Jordan, five of which he assigns to the conquest of the country; and eighteen years to the elders who survived him. But although there is an absence of any direct statement of the length of this interval in the Old Testament, there is the declaration of St. Paul that "about" four hundred and fifty years stretched from the division of the country amongst the tribes to Samuel.§ He also states that the duration of the wanderings was "about" forty years; and since we have testimony that this latter term was precisely forty years, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the four hundred and fifty years was also an exact period, which extended to the death of Eli, for Samuel's administration cannot be reckoned to have commenced before that event, though it may be considered to have dated from it.||

* Exodus xxxiii, 11. † Numbers xiv, 22, 23, 28-33; xxvi, 64, 65.

‡ Antiquities, V, I, 19, 29; VI, V, 4. Chronological statements of Josephus cannot be accepted unreservedly, but in this instance he is corroborated by St. Paul.

§ Acts xiii, 19, 20. There is a difficulty here of the text, the nature of which will be perceived by a comparison of the Authorised and Revised Versions. Othniel, the nephew and son-in-law of Caleb was the first judge, from which circumstance we see the intention of the passage is correctly rendered in the Authorised Version.

|| 1 Samuel vii, 15.

The several periods of servitude and of the rule of the judges call for no special remark, until we arrive at the sixth servitude, which continued forty years, but we are left to infer the manner in which deliverance was effected, and the event which marked its close. Concurrently with the sixth servitude we have the history of Samson.* He was not born until after the commencement of this servitude, while his rule of twenty years was included within it; his judgeship was not a period of independent national life, but was passed under the supremacy of the Philistines; that deliverance which he was unable to accomplish during his unfettered lifetime, he wrought at the moment of his death, for among the three thousand and more of men and women who perished with him, were "all the lords of the Philistines."† The destruction of the leading men of the Philistines terminated the sixth servitude, which was followed by the administration of Eli for a period of forty years.

The accompanying Table includes the period from the Exodus to the death of Solomon, the years being reckoned inclusively as in the Table of the kings, and four hundred and fifty years being allotted to the period from the division of the land to the death of Eli. All the Scriptural statements respecting the duration of the periods of servitude and of the administrations of the judges come within this term, and thirty-eight years remain to cover the interval between the partition of the country and the first servitude, which is the exact amount assigned to that period by Josephus.

The Table gives the division of the land in the 47th year from the Exodus, and the death of Eli in the 496th, or 450 years.

TABLE II.

From the Exodus to the death of Solomon.

Years.	Judges, etc.	Years Inter- mediate.	Authorities, etc.
40	The entry into Palestine ...	40	Deut. i, 3; Joshua iv, 19.
47	Division of the land ...	7	Num. x, 11-13; xiii, 20-25; Joshua xiv, 7, 10.
84	Joshua and the elders ...	38	Acts xiii, 19. Leaves 38 years for Joshua and the elders.
91	First servitude; Assyrian ...	8	Judges iii, 8.
130	Othniel ...	40	Judges iii, 9, 11.
147	Second servitude; Moab ...	18	Judges iii, 14.
226	Ehud ...	80	Judges iii, 15, 30.
245	Third servitude; Jabin ...	20	Judges iv, 2, 3.
284	Deborah ...	40	Judges iv, 4; v, 31.

* Judges xiii, 1, 5, 24; xv, 20; xvi, 31.

† Judges xvi, 27-30.

Years.	Judges, etc.	Years Inter- mediate.	Authorities, etc.
290	Fourth servitude; Midian ...	7	Judges vi, 1.
329	Gideon	40	Judges viii, 28.
331	Abimelech.	3	Judges ix, 22, 55.
353	Tola	23	Judges x, 1, 2,
374	Jair	22	Judges x, 3.
391	Fifth servitude; Philistines and Ammonites	18	Judges x, 7, 8.
396	Jephthah	6	Judges xii, 7.
402	Ibzan	7	Judges xii, 8, 9.
411	Elon	10	Judges xii, 11.
418	Abdon	8	Judges xii, 13, 14.
457	Sixth servitude; Philistines	40	Judges xiii, 1.
496	Eli	40	1 Samuel iv, 18.
515	Seventh servitude; Philis- tines	20	1 Samuel vii, 2, 3.
523	Samuel	9	
562	Saul	40	Acts xiii, 21.
601	David	40	2 Samuel v, 5.
640	Solomon	40	1 Kings xi, 42; 2 Chron. ix, 30.
1018	Zedekiah; capture of Jeru- salem	379	Table I.

The two first items in the above Table are recorded in complete years; in all the others the reckoning is inclusive. In 1 Kings vi, 1 is found a passage which has long been felt to be a difficulty. Cuninghame considers that the 480 years represent the period mentioned exclusive of the times of servitude, and it is not impossible this may be the true explanation of the passage. From the Exodus to the 4th year of Solomon there are inclusively 604 years; the periods of servitude amount to 131 years by the inclusive reckoning or to 124 complete years, which number deducted from 604 leaves a remainder of 480.

No separate duration is accorded in Scripture to the administration of Shamgar, which appears to be included in that of Ehud.

The next chronological statements we meet with are to the effect that the ark remained with the Philistines seven months, and then at Kirjath-jearim, after its restoration, twenty years.* The ark remained at Kirjath-jearim until it was removed many years later by David,† so the mention of twenty years cannot apply to its stay at that place, but to the event the particulars of which immediately succeed. With the capture of the ark, the Philistines may be considered to have re-established their supremacy, and this period of subjection constituted the seventh servitude, the emancipation from which was secured by the victory gained over the Philistines at Mizpah, when

† 1 Samuel vi, 1; vii, 2.

‡ 2 Samuel vi, 2; Joshua xv, 9, 60.

they suffered so severe a disaster, that "they came no more within the border of Israel."

We now arrive at another chronological difficulty ; there is no intimation whatever in Scripture of the length of the interval between the victory at Mizpah and the commencement of the forty years assigned to Saul's reign by St. Paul. Josephus allots twelve years to this portion of the history of Israel, but Josephus is not altogether to be depended upon for the accuracy of his statements in respect to periods of time, and we prefer for reasons connected with the date of the Exodus, which are beyond the scope of this paper, to consider nine years as a more suitable quantity for this interval. The reigns of Saul, David and Solomon present no serious difficulties ; they each comprised a term of forty years. Saul's reign offers some anomalous aspects, but these disappear when we recognise that there is an unrecorded interval of considerable length between the first anointing of Saul and the complete recognition of him as king, after his defeat of Nahash and the Ammonites.* Years must have passed over his head before the timorous young man, who hid himself rather than face public acclamation, developed into Saul, king of Israel and father of Jonathan.†

The Exodus, B.C. 1605.—Death of Solomon ; commencement of the Dinarchy, B.C. 966.—Invasion of Judah by Shishak, B.C. 962.—Jerusalem captured by Nebuchadnezzar ; temple burnt, B.C. 588.

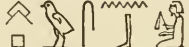
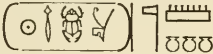
* 1 Samuel x, 1 ; xi, 15.

† 1 Samuel x, 21, 22 ; xiii, 2.



A STATUE OF HAPU-SENB: VEZÎR OF THOTHMES II.

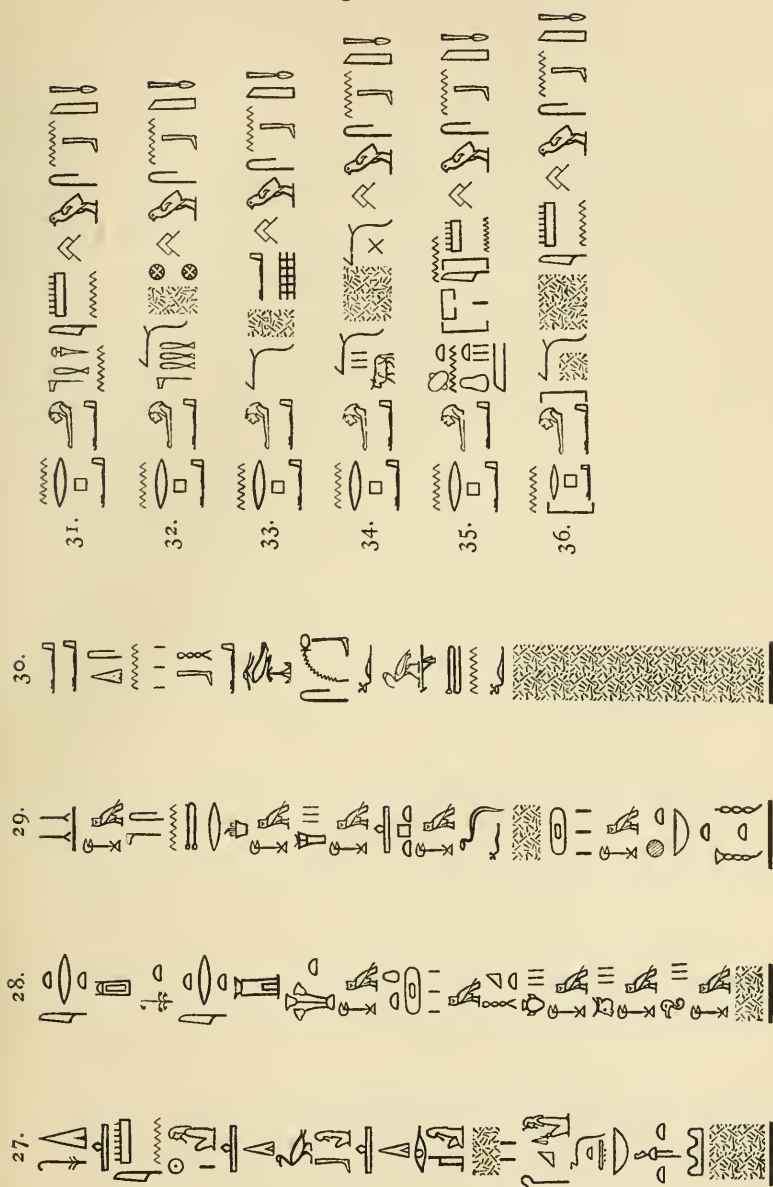
BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

In the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre there is a statue of a
 "vezîr" of Thothmes II, named , Hapu-
 senb, no account of which appears to have been published. M. Revillout tells me that it was found at Karnak, and that it
 has been in the Museum some ten years. The material is greyish-
 green granite, and the figure is represented squatting, with the arms
 crossed over the knees. Down the front of the legs is an inscription
 in thirteen horizontal lines giving some account of the minister's
 titles, and stating that the figure was 
, "made by favour of the king" Thothmes II: it also records
 certain works which by royal command were undertaken by the
 vezîr, apparently in his position of 
, "Chief in Karnak and in the temples of Amen in
 every land of Amen." On the right hand side of the statue are
 two vertical and nine [originally eleven?] horizontal lines of hiero-
 glyphs, giving a list of the various works in metal, wood, and stone
 executed by him. Among these works was a  "shrine [at
 Karnak?] in good white stone of Anu, named 
Āa-kheper-en-Râ Neter-mennu, which was [embellished with gold],
 silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, and all kinds of precious stones." In
 line 20 it mentions also many "offering tables in gold and silver,
 inlaid with lapis, *kerehet*-vases, *usekh*-collars, and two doors of
 bronze, each in one piece, with the royal cartouche inlaid upon

On the right side of the figure :—



On the left side of the figure :—



Although several other monuments of this official of the XVIIIth dynasty are known, it is curious that in no other inscription does he ever receive the title of , "Governor of the (royal) town" [*i.e.* Thebes], or of , "Vezîr." In his tomb at Thebes,* in his cenotaph at Gebel Silsileh,† and on the statue‡ found by Miss Benson and Miss Gourlay in the temple of Mut at Karnak, the most important title that he bears is    , "High Priest of Amen." At Thebes, at Gebel Silsileh, and on the Louvre statue he is also called    , "Great Chieftain of the Southern quarter."

I have elsewhere given a connected list of the vezîrs of Upper Egypt from the reign of Thothmes I to Amenhetep II, and curiously enough, as the vezîrial office seems during that period to have descended from father to son, there appears to be no room for Hapu-senb. But that he was once vezîr and governor of Thebes is clearly proved by the Louvre statue. I suspect that he held these coveted positions for a very short period only, perhaps for a few weeks or even days. This supposition receives colour from two facts concerning the monument in the Louvre. Firstly, the statue has never been finished, the back of it is only roughed out, and the surface of the front and sides are not even tolerably smooth. The hieroglyphs of the inscriptions are roughly cut, and several signs are incomplete (as  in l. 2;  instead of  in l. 11;  for  in l. 12, &c.) The second point to be noted is that the statue has been purposely (not wantonly) smashed into several pieces. That this was not done by any religious fanatic of a late period, but prior to the time of Akhenaten's heresy, is evident from the name of the god Amen, in each place that it occurs, being intact. Nearly every statue that I have seen from Karnak that dates from the period between Amenhetep I and Amenhetep III bears traces of the erasure of the name of Amen, sometimes also of the name of the Theban city  .

* It is in the Gebel Sheikh abd el Gurneh, and was found by me in 1895: many funeral cones from it are known (*M.A.F.* viii, fasc. 2, No. 230).

† *F.S.B.A.*, 1889, p. 108.

‡ I have described this statue and given the inscription in Benson and Gourlay's *Temple of Mut*, pp. 312-315.

§ As for example, on the statue of the vezîr User, an account of which I gave in the pages of the last number of these *Proceedings*.

THE RELATIVE ADJECTIVE $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$

BY A. H. GARDINER.

It is proposed here to point out a possible derivation for the relative adjective $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$, and to show how, if the origin assigned to it be correct, relative clauses could have been evolved through its primitive meaning. Owing to the circumstances in which this note was written, it was impossible to collect and arrange all the evidence necessary for a complete demonstration. Perhaps, however, the train of thought here suggested may prove useful to those who have more leisure to examine the points at issue.

The investigations of the grammarians have established that the word $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ is an adjective of the type of derivatives in $\mathfrak{Q}$, $\backslash \backslash$, formed from masculine and feminine substantives.* When from feminine substantives, the termination combines with the feminine ending Δ , so as to create a series of adjectives in $\Delta \mathfrak{Q}$ (written $\mathfrak{Q} \mathfrak{Q}$) or $\backslash \backslash$. Accordingly, $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ would be a derivative of a feminine substantive $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$. Now such a word $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ occurs fairly often in compounds,† and seems to mean "possession": e.g. $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \overset{\sim}{\Delta}$, "thy possession," and (with the article Δ) $\mathfrak{Q} \overset{\sim}{\Delta} \mathfrak{Q} \overset{\sim}{\Delta}$. Hence $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ would signify "being a possession of," i.e., "belonging to." But as *Erman* ‡ remarks, $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ must itself be connected with the adjective $\mathfrak{Q}$, $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ "belonging to," which expresses the genitive relation. And this $\mathfrak{Q}$, $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ again owes its origin to the preposition $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ "to"

* *Erman*, *Grammar*, §§ 132 foll.

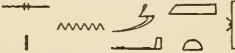
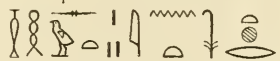
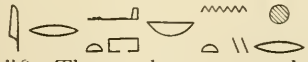
† *Griffith*, "Note on the compounds formed with substantivised N," in the *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXIV: and *Erman*, in an appendix to the same. The fact that most of the compounds from the fem. $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ date only from the M.E., makes no difference to our argument.

‡ In the appendix cited.

or "for." Hence  and ,  are ultimately of the same origin, and appear, as regards their meaning, to be synonyms. Only, as we shall see later, , being the heavier form, tends to introduce heavier combinations of words, *i.e.*, sentences and prepositional phrases, while the lighter ,  is naturally reserved to connect substantives with one another. A very similar series of words is seen in the derivatives of the preposition  "as" or "like." From this are constructed an adjective  * corresponding to ; a substantive   "likeness," "copy," corresponding to  "possession"; and, finally, an adjective   (through ) corresponding to . And as there is no *nuance* of meaning between  and , so, too, there is none between  and .

Assuming, then, that the signification assigned by us to  is the true one, let us see how far it will carry us in explaining the evolution of the relative sentence. The clause introduced by this adjective will now be seen to stand to its antecedent in the relation of a defining genitive. Following up this clue, we will review the various steps by which the simplest form of this relation—that between substantive and substantive—might develop into the relative sentence.

* *e.g.*, in          *British Museum*, 581 (= *Sharpe II*, 83). This can scarcely be held, through a comparison of  or , to be an abbreviation of , for in this case the , never found in , would not be written. Moreover, it might be argued with much the same force that ,  is to be read . Without wishing to enter on controverted questions, the present writer ventures to think that the principle of "*Defective Schreibungen*" should be applied with the utmost caution. There seems no inherent absurdity, for instance, in supposing  to derive its feminine from an adjective ; nor, indeed, is it impossible that both forms should have been in use.  may well have been formed to avoid confusion with  "forepart."

As in other languages, so in Egyptian, a genitive may be employed to express an attribute of a thing, in other words, to define it. As English can say "a thing of beauty," so Egyptian says  *s nī mī't*, "a man of truth." It appears that  never takes the place of  in this case, but that cannot be held to weaken our position. For as was said in anticipation above, it was only natural that the lighter adjective should be used in this connection. Moreover  had probably been particularised to this use, at the time when  was developed in order to introduce the extended genitive or relative clause. The tendency for the second member in such a phrase as  to develop into a clause becomes conspicuous when an infinitive with its object and an adverbial addition is substituted for the original substantive. Cf. , "The day of lighting the lamp in the temple."* It is just possible that  was sometimes used in this connection. In the phrase , "in the place where words are weighed,"†  may possibly be the infinitive. In this case the uses of  and  would here coincide. Although, however, such uses of the infinitive illustrate the tendency at work, it is probable that the relative clause developed in a different way. The first step of importance consisted in replacing the defining substantive by a prepositional phrase.  is employed here in a frequently recurring expression , which is exactly represented by the French equivalent "mes faveurs de par le roi."‡ Possibly this usage was formerly common, and only survived in this "court formula." The regular word in such cases is  as e.g. , "every officer who was with him."§ These phrases may be equally well analysed, either as genitives, or as relative clauses whose subject is identical

* *Siut I*, 291, quoted in *Erman, Grammar*, § 272. In Hebrew, cf. *Gen.* ii, 4.

† *Beni-Hasan I*, pl. xv.

‡ *El Bersheh I*, 14, 8 and often.

§ *Louvre, C 172* in *Erman*, l.c. § 401.

the following facts are instructive. It is clear that a defining genitive may frequently be replaced by an adjective. We may, for instance, say either "a thing of beauty" or "a beauteous thing." Now on the hypothesis that the relative clause with $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ is an extension of the defining genitive, a remarkable coincidence emerges, for the most usual way of expressing a relative clause in Egyptian is through what have been called the *substantivised** forms of the verb, i.e., forms so inflected that they may do double duty as adjective and verb. A third mode of expressing the relative sentence is by mere *co-ordination*, no special particle nor verbal form being adopted. This corresponds to that form of genitive where two substantives are *juxtaposed* simply, corresponds, in short, to the genitive without $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ or $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \dagger$. Thus there are three methods of defining a substantive, by means of simple *co-ordination*, or by means of *subordination* with a particle meaning "belonging to," or, thirdly, by means of an adjectival form. And this is true, *whether the thing to be predicated of the substantive be another noun* (i.e., an ordinary genitive or its substitute, an adjective), or a whole clause (i.e., a relative clause).

To sum up, both on etymological and syntactic grounds, the derivation of $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ from $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ is possible, and certain coincidences resulting from the acceptance of this view bear *a posteriori* testimony to its probability.

POSTSCRIPT.

No reference to the derivation of the preposition $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ itself has been made in the body of this note, because such a matter must always remain to a large degree hypothetical, and could only have confounded the general argument. Here however I venture to suggest an explanation, though not without diffidence. The preposition $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ may very possibly be derived from a demonstrative

* *Erman*, l.c., § 397.

† This genitive is presumably a merely implicit one. No case-forms are known in Egyptian. This being so, the two substantives are joined by *co-ordination* not *subordination*, so that our comparison with the *co-ordinated* relative sentence is perfectly fair.

~~~~~ found at the base of , , , , , and perhaps the plural pronouns , , and . If so, the advantage would be gained that only one root ~~~~~ need be postulated instead of two. Moreover, a comparison of the Aramaic  (= Hebrew )<sup>\*</sup> would make it clear how  acquired its meaning "of." Again, the "later absolute pronouns" shown some years back by *Sethe* to be allied to , would now be seen to be derived (with the exception of the 1st person ) from the feminine adjective  from  in its demonstrative sense. Then the connection between them and  would be evident, if the latter were regarded as formed from the preposition ~~~~~ in its original demonstrative sense, just as  and  are formed from  and . In this case  would bear the meaning "there" or the like, and would point to the subject or the agent, as the case might be. But let it be understood that these suggestions are put forward quite tentatively.

<sup>\*</sup> I have to thank Mr. J. F. Stenning, of Wadham College, Oxford, for information about this word.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 13th February, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

The Hon. Miss Plunket : “ Ancient Eastern Astronomy.”

---

### ERRATA.

“ *Proceedings*,” December, 1899.

Page 291, line 8 : *for part read fact.*

Page 295, line 2 from foot : *for Lilath read Lilith.*

Page 298, line 10 : *for third read fourth.*

Page 310, line 9 : *to read* (*Bulletin archéol. de l'Ath. Fr.*, 1855, p. 101).

Page 310, last line : *to read*, on the megaliths in Brittany and among the pre-historic, &c.

Page 311, line 2 : *for priere read pierre.*

Page 311, line 3 : *to read* des Antiquaires.

Page 311, lines 4 to 7 : *to read*, “ The fact that the axe is there found, not as the representation of an object in daily use, but as one designed for religious or magical purposes, is shown by the fact that it often occurs as a pendant,” etc.

Page 311, line 12 : *for precedes read preceded.*

---



## NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1s., at once to Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. IX of the *Transactions*.



## SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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VOL. XXII. THIRTIETH SESSION.

*Second Meeting, February 13th, 1900.*

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## Society of Biblical Archaeology.

---

The next Meeting will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, on TUESDAY the 8th of MAY, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

F. LEGGE, "The Slate Palettes from Hieraconpolis and elsewhere."

Prof. PETRIE has also promised to speak.





PROCEEDINGS

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---

THIRTIETH SESSION, 1900.

---

*Second Meeting, 13th February, 1900.*

THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S. (MEMBER OF COUNCIL),

IN THE CHAIR.

---

The Chairman referred to the severe loss the Society had suffered by the death of the REV. ROBERT GWYNNE, B.A., the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, whose interest in, and efforts to secure the welfare of the Society only ceased with his life.

Born November 6th, 1831. Died February 14th, 1900.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Publishers:—Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co. The Archko Volume; or the Archæological Writings of the Sanhedrim and Talmud of the Jews. (*intra secus.*) These are the official documents made in these Courts in the days of Jesus Christ. Translated by Drs. McIntosh and Twyman. 8vo. 1900.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Die neuesten Forschungen zur altaegyptischen Geschichte. Histor. Litteraturblatt, Band I. Nos. 1/2, 3, 6/7. 1898.

From the Author:—Prof. C. P. Tiele. Levensbericht van Willem Hendrik Kosters. 8vo. Amsterdam. 1899.

— — — Jaarboek der Konink. Akad. van Wetenschappen. 1899.

From the Author:—Verslag van der Lotgevallen der Universiteit in den cursus 1898–1899, Vitgebracht den 19<sup>dem</sup> September, 1899, door den Waarnemenden Rector Magnificus Dr. C. P. Tiele, bij het overdragen van der rectorale waardigheid aan Dr. H. A. Lorentz. Liden. 8vo. 1899.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. I dialetti Italici e gl' itali della Storia. Le iscrizioni.

*Civiltà Cattolica.* 6 January, 1900.

From the Leigh-Browne Trust. Biological Experimentation. By Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, M.D., F.R.S. London. 8vo. 1896.

The following Candidate was submitted for election, having been nominated in January, and elected:—

Arthur Mounfield, Dutton Street, Warrington.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting in March:—

Rev. Thomas H. Richards, 80, Bramstone Road, Burton-on-Trent.

Dr. James H. Breasted, Berlin.

A Paper, entitled “Ancient Eastern Astronomy,” was read by the Hon. Miss Plunket.

Remarks were added by the Rev. James Marshall, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. John Tuckwell.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

## ANCIENT INDIAN ASTRONOMY.

BY THE HON. MISS PLUNKET.

It is only on Talmudic authority, I think, that astronomy can be denied a place, and indeed an important place, in researches connected with Biblical Archæology.

On Talmudic authority we are told that, as a protest against the sun, moon, and star-worship of surrounding nations, the Hebrews were not permitted to calculate in any way before hand, or by scientific methods, based on the movements of the heavenly bodies, their days, their months, or their years.

The end of the day and beginning of the night could only be definitely ascertained, when three stars were visible to the observer. The moon must have shown its pale sickle to some watcher of the heavens, before the first of the month could be announced. The beginning of the year, we are also told, was dependent on the earliness or lateness of the agricultural season, for three ears of corn, in a sufficiently advanced state of growth, were to be presented to the priest and waved before the Lord *on a fixed day of the first month* of the year.

This is what some passages of the Talmud\* seem to teach: But from Old Testament Scriptures it is not possible to infer these

\* *Bible Educator*, edited by Rev. E. H. Pluntre, M.A., Vol. IV, pp. 239 and 240. "It may have been with a view to render astrology impossible, that the Jews were forbidden to keep a calendar in the Holy Land, . . . as the length of the lunar month is, roughly speaking, twenty-nine days and a half, it is easy to know from month to month when to expect the crescent to become visible. Six times in the year the beginning of the month was decided by observation. On two months of the year the determination of the new moon was of such importance, that the witnesses who observed the crescent were authorised to profane the Sabbath day by travelling to give information at Jerusalem. These occasions were the months Nisan and Tisri. . . . The Mishna records that on one occasion as many as forty pairs of witnesses thus arrived on the Sabbath at Lydda. Rabbi Akiba detained them, but was reproved for so doing by Rabbi Gamaliel. When the evidence was satisfactory, the judges declared the month to be commenced, and a beacon was lighted on Mount Olivet, from which the signal was repeated on mountain after mountain until the whole country was aglow with fires."

calendrical restrictions with any degree of certainty. On the contrary, there is much in the Scriptures, as it seems to me, to lead us to an opposite conclusion.

On the very first page of the Bible we read of "the greater and the lesser lights," and of "the stars also" set in the heavens, to be "for signs and for seasons and for days and for years." And scarcely have we turned this first page, when we may learn of Abel—who "at the end of days" brought of the firstlings of his flock an offering unto the Lord. Already in considering this passage we seem to be brought into touch with a definitely established year: and at once archæology and astronomy enter into the field of Biblical research, to tell us of a remotely old calendar—astronomic indications would date the origin of this calendar as somewhat higher than 6000 B.C.—and from this calendar we learn that at "the end of days," the end of the *dark* days of the year, there followed a month of "right making sacrifice." A sacrifice, we may well suppose, of the firstlings of the flock: as the stars in conjunction with the sun during this first month were imagined by the institutors of the calendar under the form of a lamb or ram ready for sacrifice.

To this calendrical first month our attention is again drawn when we read, in the book of Exodus, of the institution at God's command of the Hebrew festival, to be held on the 14th and 15th days of the month *Abib*.

This month *Abib*, it is generally assumed, is the equivalent of the month Nisan, spoken of in some of the later books of the Old Testament.

Astronomy and archæology again claim a hearing on this point. The month Nisan, the Semite equivalent of the Accadian month Barzigar (the month of the right making sacrifice), we may gather from the evidence of the cuneiform tablets, had been the first month of a calendrical year in Babylon for many centuries—for milleniums perhaps—before the date of Moses; and therefore archæology would teach us, that the children of Israel were being recalled, from strange Egyptian modes of reckoning, to the observance of an ancient and patriarchial year and festival; when they were told that for them *Abib* was to be the first month of the year, and that on the 14th of that month, "a night to be much observed," they were to sacrifice of the firstlings of their flock, and were to hold the great festival of the Passover on the fifteenth day.

If "Abib," "Nisan," and "Barzigar" are names used by various

nations to designate one and the same month, *Abib* could not have been, as it has been very generally supposed, a month varying according to the uncertain ripening of agricultural crops, and one taking its name from the *ears of corn* presented to the priest, and waved before the Lord on some fixed day of that month—but rather it must have been (as we know, from Babylonian sources, that Nisan was) a well calculated soli-lunar and sidereal month. Now if we adopt this view, we must find some alternative derivation for the month name “*Abib*.” Nor is it by any means difficult so to do.

On the fourteenth night of the first month—Barziggar, Nisan, or Abib—a night to be much observed, or rather according to the marginal reading “a night of observations”—the bright star Spica, which marks the *ears of corn* in the Virgin’s hand, rose above the eastern horizon as the sun set in the west; and at midnight must have shone down brilliantly on the Hebrew hosts, for Spica is so bright a star, that even the beams of the full moon riding close at hand could not have obscured its lustre.

The Indians of to-day name their months from the stars in their lunar zodiac which are in *opposition to*, not from those in *conjunction with* the sun. The close resemblance of the Arab and Indian lunar zodiacal series, suggests the thought that the Arabs may have followed the same system of month nomenclature as the Indians; and this thought may furnish a reason why Moses, who had so lately returned from his forty years’ sojourn in Arabia, should—in recalling the Hebrews to the year presumably observed by their forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—have yet spoken of the first month of the year according to a non-Babylonian method of nomenclature, and should have called it “*Abib*,” after the star in opposition to the Sun.

If now we adopt the opinion that an astronomic method of counting the year did in reality obtain amongst the Hebrews, a great difficulty must present itself to our minds in regard to the generally accepted theory that only on *a fixed day of the first month of the year* might the first reaped handful of corn be waved before the Lord.

The seasons in Palestine are not more punctual than in other countries. To restrict a husbandman to a fixed day of a year (even such a year as ours) before which he might not begin to put his sickle into the corn, would be felt as a hurtful and arbitrary regulation; but to restrict the husbandman to a fixed day in a luni-solar year



would be a still more hurtful regulation. The beginning of a sol-lunar year may vary to the extent of a whole month. A late beginning of such a year might coincide with a very early agricultural season, and *vice versa*. An early calendrical year might occur in a late agricultural season.

Considerations of this nature may incline us to inquire carefully whether the "generally accepted theory" (concerning the waving of the ears of corn before the Lord during the Passover week), rests upon Scriptural authority or on Talmudic and traditional teaching. As against an almost unbroken array of commentators, it is possible in this connection to quote from the work of a learned Hebrew scholar, a clearly expressed opinion that, from the Scriptures themselves it is not possible to infer directly a connection in date between the waving of the first fruits and the Passover festival.\*

If the above considerations should lead us to accept, as at least a probability, an astronomically counted Hebrew year, and should require us to change long held opinions regarding the right observance of Hebrew festivals, on the other hand, the fact that we might trace Arabian rather than Babylonian influence in the name of *Abib*, would have its weight on the conservative side of the controversy, concerning the post or pre-exilic *date* of the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy.

\* *Pentateuque, Traduction Nouvelle, par Rabbi Wogue (Lazare), Tom 3.* Discussing an important difference of opinion which exists amongst Jewish scholars and commentators as to the exact day of the Passover festival, on which the priest was to wave the sheaf before the Lord, the writer says: "La texte porte: 'Le Lendemain du Sabbat,' indication qui a donné lieu a une dissidence importante entre les Pharisiens et les Saduceans. Nous avons adopté le système talmudique, qui a pour lui l'autorité des Septante, des Targoumin de Josephe, et l'usage immémorial de la Synagogue, mais à ne consulter que les textes sans parti pris, nous ne souscrivions à aucune des deux doctrines, ni la cérémonie de l'omer, ni le comput des semaines ne sont mis par nos textes en rapport avec la Pâque, mais uniquement avec les moissons, soit ici, soit dans la Deuteronomie (xvi, 9). Des la récolte de l'orge, le divin Législateur veut qu'on lui fasse homage des prémices de cette céréale; il n'indique point de date, parceque la moisson, non plus que la vendage, et pas plus en Palestine qu'ailleurs, ne commence à jour fixe, mais une fois ouverte, elle se continue sans interruption; et comme les froments, en Palestine, sont coupés sept semaines après, les prémices du froment doivent être offertes au bout de sept semaines. L'omer et Pentecôte sont donc mobile par exception, mais cette dernière est relativement fixe. Maintenant de quel 'Sabbat' est il question? Puisque tout ici est subordonné à l'ouverture de la moisson, ce sera naturellement le Sabbat qui suit cette ouverture."

The fact that in India the months are named after the stars in opposition to the sun, suggested the above proposed explanations of the Hebrew month name *Abib* as that of the month when the sun was in conjunction with the constellation Aries, and in opposition to the star Spica, marking the zodiacal ears of corn. But there is a further point of connection to be observed between Indian astronomy and Biblical archæology, namely, that the *first month of the Indian year* is actually, like the Babylonian Nisan and the Hebrew Abib, the month during which the sun is in conjunction with the constellation Aries, and when the bright star Spica, rising in the east at sundown and shining all through the night, gives its Indian name *Chaitra* to that *first month*. It must, therefore, be a question of interest to Biblical students, whether this Indian *first month* has only so been counted (as some scholars tell us) since about 570 A.D., or whether it has so been counted from the same remote time as was the Accadian month Barziggarr, that is possibly from about 6000 B.C.

This question as to the month *Chaitra* forms part only of a larger controversy, which has been long waged concerning the antiquity, or otherwise, of the whole science of astronomy in India.

To this special question regarding the *first month* of the Indian year I drew attention, in a paper entitled "Astronomy in the Rig-Veda," which I read last October before the Indian Section of the 12th Oriental Congress, assembled in Rome. That paper will in due course be published in the report of the Congress. I can therefore now only sum up in the words of the bulletin of the Congress, already issued, the substance of the views put forward in the paper, and afterwards I shall endeavour to strengthen, by further discussion of Vedic myths, the arguments in favour of the opinions for which I then urgently contended; namely, that in the oldest known Sanscrit work—the Rig Veda—it is possible to detect allusions to many astronomic phenomena, and that thereby the antiquity of the science of astronomy in India may be established.

#### EXTRACT FROM BULLETIN.

"Les recherches archéologiques ont dans ces dernières années établi le fait que les douze constellations du Zodiaque (dit Grec) étaient déjà bien connues aux habitants de l'ouest de l'Asie 4000 années av. J. C. Ainsi nous ne devons pas considérer comme une

impossibilité que les Brahmanes des Indes, bien avant la date de la conquête d'Alexandre, aient connu les divisions du zodiaque, et d'autres anciennes constellations. Cette possibilité admise, des interprétations astronomiques sont suggérées pour quatre des plus importants mythes Védiques.

"I. *Indra* représente le Dieu du Solstice de l'été qui bannit *Vritrá*, i.e., la constellation *Hydra*, du ciel et de la terre.

"II. *Soma Pavamana* représente la *pleine lune* du Solstice de l'été, *purifiée* dans les eaux de la constellation *Aquarius*.

"III. *Agni* se cachant, y naissant, et surgissant hors des eaux, représente le feu du Soleil du Solstice de l'hiver, dans la constellation *Aquarius*.

"IV. *Les Açvins* représentent les étoiles *Yoga* du Nakshatra *açvini* qui annonçaient par leur levé héliaque le retour du nouvel an."

Before proceeding to suggest some further identifications of Vedic personages with astronomic phenomena, I should like, in support of the solsticial interpretation of the Indra-Vritra myth already proposed, to point out how this astronomic interpretation accounts for what might seem the somewhat monotonous treatment of the contest between Indra and Vritra, in the *Rig Veda*. Vritra, the demon of drought or of darkness, manifests himself always in the form of a snake, and commentators tell us that he manifests himself as a snake-like *cloud*. Now if in hundreds of hymns Vritra manifested as a *cloud* appears in a snake-like form, we might surely accuse the Vedic bards of monotony in their treatment of the atmospheric contest so continually recurring between Indra and Vritra; but if the imagined manifestation of Vritra was in the form of a snake like *constellation*, then the monotony of the treatment is necessary and true to nature. The poets are not dealing with atmospheric phantasmagoria, but with the unchanging aspects of the fixed stars in their yearly revolutions.

Leaving now the Indra-Vritra myth, let us turn to other Vedic gods and divine personages, and first to Rudra.

In the *Rig Veda* Rudra does not hold at all so prominent a place as do Indra, Soma, Agni, and the Aswins; but Siva, the modern representative of the Vedic Rudra, does hold an important position in the Hindu Pantheon.

In the *Veda Rudra* is chiefly to be distinguished as an archer god, as a wise physician, and as the father of the *Maruts*. Other



IN THIS DIAGRAM THE OUTER CIRCLE IS DIVIDED INTO 360 PARTS FOR AN  
 EXTENT OF THE 27 INDIAN LUNAR NAKSHATRAS ARE GIVEN. IN THE NEXT  
 THE BROAD BLACK BAND WHICH COMES NEXT, DRAWS ATTENTION TO A SUGG

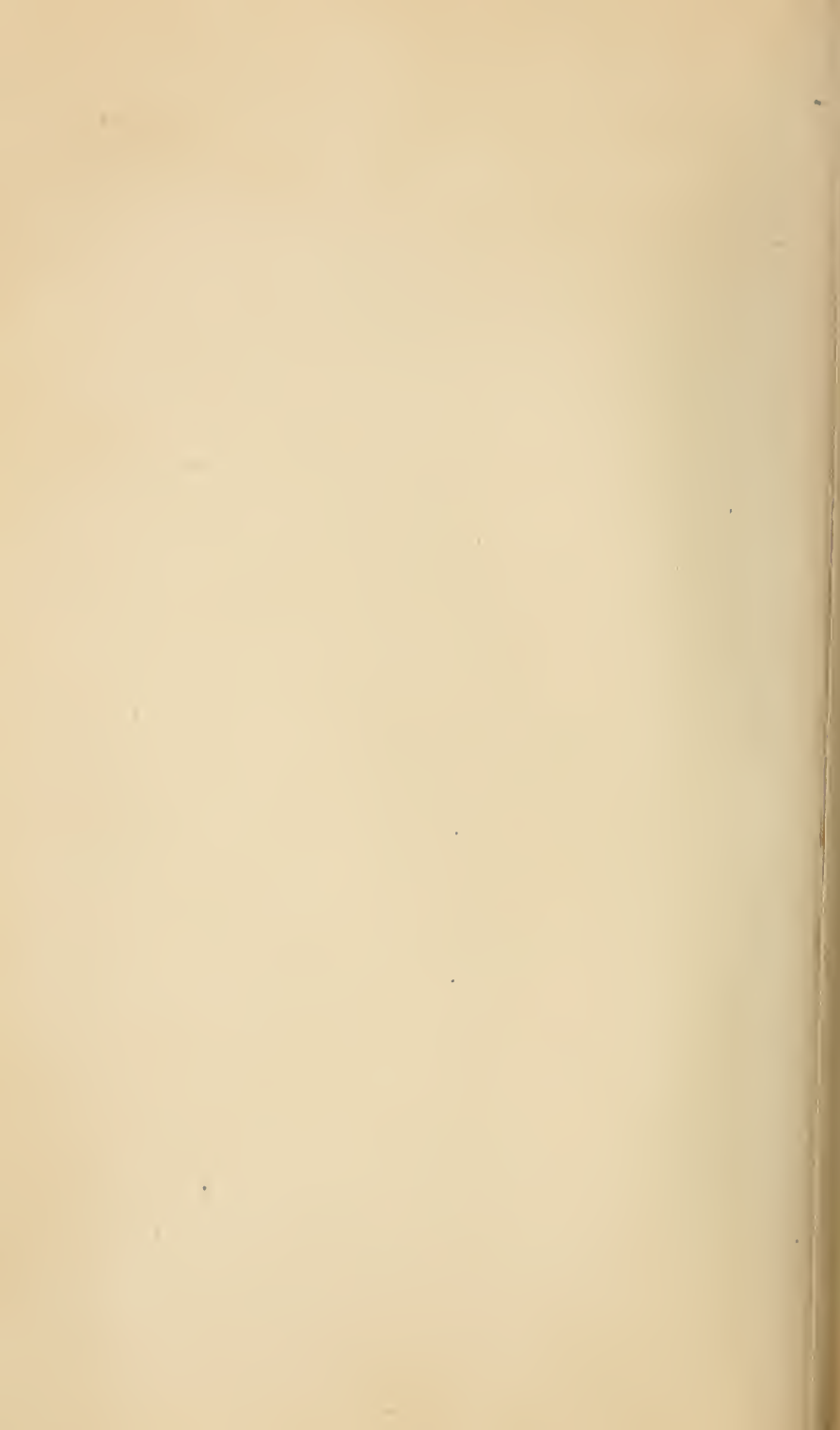


THE ECLIPTIC IS REPRESENTED BY THE CIRCLE ON WHICH THE SUN AT  
 THE CONSTELLATIONS FIGURED ARE THOSE ON, AND NORTH OF THE  
 (PE) THE POLE OF THE ECLIPTIC.

CAL REFERENCE. IN THE NEXT INNER CIRCLE THE NAMES AND  
AMES AND EXTENT OF THE 12 INDIAN SOLAR "RASHIS" ARE GIVEN.  
REE-FOLD DIVISION OF THE MOON'S COURSE DURING ONE LUNAR MONTH.



R SOLSTICE; AND VARIOUS PHASES OF THE MOON ARE DEPICTED  
AND ONLY INCLUDE THOSE GENERALLY KNOWN AS CRECIAN OR "ANCIENT"  
THE POLE OF THE HEAVENS, ABOUT 4500 B.C.





gods besides Rudra are described as possessing bow and arrows, but Rudra is very specially an archer: therefore in seeking for an astronomical explanation of the Rudra hymns, the thought of the archer Sagittarius easily presents itself. The indications, however, in favour of this view could scarcely be considered sufficiently marked to carry strong conviction to the mind, were it not that in one hymn the epithet "*Asuro Maho*" is very clearly and definitely applied to *Rudra*; and in this epithet, it seems, we find the missing link, which may serve to identify the archer Rudra with the archer of the zodiac.

"*Asuro Maho*" is the exact Sanscrit equivalent of the Avestan "*Ahura Mazda*." In my paper, "The Median Calendar and Tauric Symbolism," I have already claimed that the emblem of the Median "*Ahura Mazda*," and the virtually identical emblem of the Assyrian "*Assur*," were derived from the figure of the celestial archer Sagittarius, and the occurrence in the Rig Veda of the very words *Asuro Maho*, applied to the essentially archer god Rudra, adds greatly to the probability of this already proposed identification of *Ahura Mazda* and Sagittarius.

The equinoctial colure still passed through the constellation Sagittarius at the date 4000 B.C. To this date Median and Assyrian symbolism seems to point as having been that of a Median reformation of the calendar, which fixed very firmly the beginning of the Median year to the season of the vernal equinox; and it is to this date, therefore, that in the paper already referred to, it was proposed to attribute the exaltation of the archer god *Ahura Mazda* to the high position of the *great*, and only, *Lord* of the Medians.

The origin of the Indra-Vritra and of the Soma myths has been placed by scholars, on etymological grounds, as probably belonging to Indo-Aryan and possibly to Eur-Aryan times. On astronomical grounds also their origin may be referred to some few hundred years earlier than that proposed for the reformation of the Median calendar.

The Aryans who went down into India, and who did not adopt this Median reformed calendar, we may therefore suppose did not exalt the equinoctial Rudra to the highest post amongst their gods. Indra was still for them "the highest of all." Indra as the god of the Summer Solstice, on the astronomic theory, triumphed over the demon of drought at the midsummer Indian rainy season, and the equinoctial archer Rudra is oftener alluded to in the Rig Veda as the father of the Maruts than in almost any other capacity.

Now the Maruts—the stormy troop of Maruts—are celebrated as the companions and friends of Indra. They are “associated with him in innumerable passages.” Here at first sight it might seem that the proposed astronomical identification of Indra and Rudra as solstitial and equinoctial personifications must break down; for how should the sons of the equinoctial Rudra always appear as the devoted companions of the solstitial Indra?

On further examination, however, a very interesting explanation of this difficulty presents itself. From a hymn to Siva,\* the Hindu representative of the Vedic Rudra, we learn that the crescent half moon blazes on the forehead of Siva. Now the crescent half moon, in the western degrees of the constellation Sagittarius, would, 4500 B.C., have marked the month of the Summer Solstice; for the moon, in its “first quarter” in the first degrees of Sagittarius, must attain to “full moon” seven days later, either in the constellation Aquarius or Pisces, and the full moon in one or other of those two constellations marked the season of the Summer Solstice somewhat earlier than 4000 B.C. The Maruts are often spoken of in the Veda as a troop, seven in number, or as seven troops of seven, or as three times seven in number. The astronomical thought suggests itself, that the seven Maruts represent the seven days that elapsed between the crescent half moon, blazing on the brow of Rudra, and the full moon of the Summer Solstice, or *Soma Pavamana*, *Soma purified* in the celestial waters (*see* Plate). And this explanation of the Maruts does not contradict, but rather agrees with and includes the usual non-astronomic explanations held regarding them, namely, that they are storm winds; for we know that the days which accompany the setting in of the solstitial rainy season in India, are the days in which the fierce tropical hurricanes or monsoons prevail.

In a “Note” concerning the identification of Rudra and Ahura

\* “Hymn to Siva,” prefixed to “An exposition of the principles of Sanscrit Logic,” by “Bodhanundánath Swami” (Calcutta):—

“I worship the great *Mahesa*, who shines like ten million suns; who is crowned with the moon; who is armed with the trident, the bow, the mace, the discus, the goad, the noose;

“Who is the eternal Lord;

“Who is bright as the snowy summit of Mount Kailáçe; whose matted hair is ablaze with the crescent moon;

“Whose forehead is adorned with the bright half-moon;

“ . . . . . ”

Mazda, appearing in the current number of our *Proceedings*, I have drawn attention to the curious mythological changes which seem to have been rung by different peoples on this one theme, of the phases of the moon in the constellation Sagittarius, at the date in round numbers of 4000 B.C.

Now let us turn from the Maruts to another, as it seems to me, lunar and solstitial myth, namely that of Trita Aptya.

Trita Aptya is a friend of the Maruts, and is said to have appeared on the same car with them. He is constantly, in the hymns, associated with Indra, and feats recorded in one passage as performed by Indra, are in another passage of the same hymn attributed to Trita.

Trita is also often spoken of together with Soma; and in the ninth Mandala again and again we read of the ten "maidens, or fingers," of Trita preparing the Soma juice for Indra.

All these attributes of Trita, and others to be mentioned later, are easily explainable on the astronomic theory already propounded in the identifications of Indra, of Soma, and of the Maruts.

In the name Trita there is certainly a suggestion of the number *three*, and Macdonell, in his "Vedic Mythology," brings proof to show "that it was felt to have the meaning of third." I do not know whether this meaning of "third" is to be taken as third in order, or as a "third part" of some whole.

But if "*Trita*" may be taken as referring to a third part of a whole, the reiterated mention of the ten fingers of Trita quickly suggests the thought of a whole, divided into three chief parts, each part containing ten lesser divisions; a whole therefore of thirty parts.

Now the lunar month—in reality consisting of twenty-nine and a half solar days (with some fractions over)—is in Hindu calendrical usage divided into thirty equal portions of time called "tithis," which are considered as lunar days; and here as it would seem we arrive at the physical basis of the Trita myth. Trita Aptya, or Trita in the waters (or of the waters) appears as the third part of the lunar month. The part during which the moon is to be seen in the celestial waters—and as Trita is so closely connected with Indra and Soma Pavamana—that third part must have been the ten lunar days (five before and five after "the full") during which the moon is at its brightest, and in the constellation Aquarius.

It is true that the month in India is not at present often referred

to as divided into three chief divisions, but rather into two.—The light half and the dark half.—But we may remember that the Trita myth is not of merely Indian origin; it, like the Indra and Soma myths, is “Indo-Iranian, and probably Eur-Aryan,” and in European ancient astronomy we find traces of this threefold division; for we read that “the Attic Year began with the Summer Solstice, and each month was divided into three decades.”

If we think of Trita Aptya as a personification of the triumphant third of the moon’s course through the constellations of the zodiac at the season of the Summer Solstice, and if we remember that the moon during the ten lunar days contained in that “*third*” came to its full in *Aquarius* or in *Pisces*, sometimes indeed at the juncture of these constellations, not only shall we be able to understand much of the figurative language of the Veda, which associates Trita with the stormy Maruts, with the victories of Indra over Vritra, and with the effulgence of Soma Pavamana; but we shall also recognise the meaning of traits recorded in the Zend Avesta of *Thrita* and *Thraetona*. And we may too guess at an allusion in the sculptured forms of Grecian and Roman *Tritons*—half man and half fish—to the two watery constellations above referred to. The Etruscan and Roman rendering of these composite figures especially may recall to our minds the zodiacal basis of the myth. The *two* fish of *Pisces*, appearing in Italian art, as the two fish tails which terminate the human-headed figure of the Triton.

There is a legend concerning Trita not related but alluded to in the Rig Veda. This legend tells us, that Trita was one of three brothers (Ekata, Dwita, and Trita), and that he was pushed into a well by his brothers, and over the mouth of the well a circular covering was placed with intent to keep Trita down and drown him. But through the circular covering the ever triumphant Trita burst. Here there can be little doubt is a mythic description of the temporary disaster of eclipse, overtaking the full moon of the Summer Solstice in the celestial waters of *Aquarius*, or *Pisces*. The circular covering can be nothing else than the circular shadow of the earth covering the disc of the full moon, and Trita’s triumph may well remind us of the serene victoriousness of the moon, when it has emerged from eclipse and rides unharmed along the sky.

This legend of Trita and his brothers appears also in the Avesta; it is therefore, like the rest of the Trita myths pre-Vedic. We need not therefore be surprised to find allusion to it in Grecian lunar

nomenclature. Hecate, as has been pointed out by scholars, bears a close resemblance in name to "*Ekata*." Hecate was a lunar divinity; she was worshipped and sacrificed to at the close of the month. We may therefore suppose she represented the waning moon. She is further said to have been the daughter of Perseus and Asteria. Looking at the figures of the celestial sphere (*see* Plate), we may trace the third part of the moon's course—the ten days of its waning appropriated to Ekata—and observe how this portion of its course began close to the *constellation Perseus*. Thus the Sanscrit Trita myth may explain the name and parentage of the Grecian Hecate.\*

To one more lunar Vedic personage let us direct our attention: namely, to "*Atri*;" Atri who, unlike the conquering and ever victorious Trita, is chiefly celebrated for his misfortunes. Agni, Indra, and especially the Aswins, moved by his misfortunes, come to the help of Atri, and by means of a hundred acts, a hundred devices, they extricate him from captivity; whether from a dark cavern or from a burning chasm. They make the time of his captivity even pleasant to him, giving him refreshing drink.

One of our own poets may help us to understand the Vedic metaphor of Atri's darksome cave. Describing his blindness, in the words of Sampson Agonistes, Milton says—

"The sun to me is dark  
And silent as the moon  
When she deserts the night,  
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave."

Atri is I believe a personification of the *New Moon*, and thus we may understand how he is sometimes described as hidden in a dark cave; while at other times he is spoken of as in a fiery chasm, when the uppermost thought in the Vedic poet's mind is the close conjunction of the moon at that time with the burning sun. From his dark cave, or burning chasm, Atri is delivered by the "hundred acts" of worship and sacrifice, which it was the custom in India, as

\* It is not to be supposed that only the month of the Summer Solstice was divided into the three parts, personified by Ekata, Dwita, and Trita: the legend of *Trita Aptya*, that is *Trita in the Waters* (or *of the Waters*), is necessarily restricted to that season in which the moon came to its full in the constellations Aquarius or Pisces. Some interesting indications in Indian and Greek mythology seem to point to a similar division of other months, but the subject is too intricate to be dealt with in this note.



in many other countries, to offer up at the time of New Moon, especially at the marked festivals of the Winter and Summer Solstice, or the beginning of the calendrical year. On one occasion\* we hear of Atri coming to the assistance of the sun, which had been hidden by the demon Svarbhānu. This darkening of the sun is generally understood to refer to a solar eclipse. A solar eclipse can only take place at the time of new moon. It is a little puzzling to find Atri, if Atri personifies the new moon, saving the sun from eclipse instead of being the cause of the disaster; but as in the Rig Veda Atri always appears as a friend, not an enemy, of the gods of light—Agni, Indra, and the Aswins—we may suppose that the Vedic bard chose to represent him as being present at, rather than causing the sun's eclipse. It may also be that a certain number of divisions of lunar time were considered as personified by Atri, and that an eclipse terminated in the third or fourth of those divisions. So that it could be said that Atri "by his fourth sacred prayer" discovered the sun. The passage is no doubt a difficult one, still the fact that Atri was present at the eclipse of the sun seems to tell rather in favour of than against the supposition, that Atri was a personification of the time of new moon.

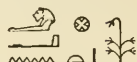
The four astronomical interpretations here proposed for Rudra, the Maruts, Trita Aptya, and Atri, are all harmonious with and supplemental to the four discussed in my paper read at Rome, and entitled "Astronomy in the Rig Veda." They must to a great extent all stand or fall together. They have been very briefly stated, but if indeed an astronomic basis does, as suggested, underlie Vedic imagery; Sanscrit scholars, with the science of etymology at their command, will easily be able to follow up and pronounce upon the value of the clues here hazarded.

\* *Rig Veda Santuta*, by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Vol. III., *Mandala*, v. XL. 5. "When Sūrya, the son of the Asura Svarbhānu, overspread thee with darkness, the worlds were beheld like one bewildered, knowing not his place. 6. When Indra, thou wast dissipating those illusions of Svarbhānu which were spread below the Sun, then Atri by his fourth sacred prayer, discovered the Sun concealed by the darkness; impeding his functions. 7. (Sūrya speaks) Let not the Violator, Atri, through hunger swallow with fearful (darkness) me who am thine; thou art Mitra, whose wealth is truth; do thou and the royal Varuna both protect me. 8. Then the Brahman (Atri), applying the stones together, propitiating the gods with praise, and adoring them with reverence, placed the eye of Sūrya in the sky; he dispersed the delusion of Svarbhānu. 9. The Sun whom the Asura Svarbhānu had enveloped with darkness, the sons of Atri subsequently recovered; no others were able (to effect his release)."

## EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS (II).

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

5. SEN-NEFER, MAYOR OF THEBES UNDER AMENHETEP II. A short distance above the magnificent tomb of Rekhmara in the

Gebel Sheikh Abd el Kurneh at Thebes, is the tomb of a 

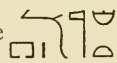
*ḥā ne net-res*,\* "mayor of the southern city (*i.e.*, Thebes), named

 Sen-nefer.† It is dated in the reign of Amenhetep II and contains several interesting inscriptions which have not as yet been published. For many years it served as a place of residence for an

Arab family, and latterly it has been used as a *tibn*-chamber and stable. The lower parts of the walls have been sadly mutilated and

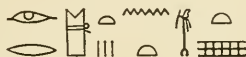
most of the scenes destroyed, but it is fortunate that the plaster and inscriptions remain on the upper parts, and from the latter I have been

able to glean the following information. Sen-nefer was the son of

 Humâÿ,‡ the  *mer per neter ḥemt*, "steward

of the divine wife" (? widow of Thothmes III): his mother was

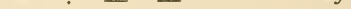
named  Neb. A scene, now unfortunately almost entirely

\* In one place this title is amplified by  *ār ḥent net Uast*, "making the boundaries of the Theban nome."

† The name Sen-nefer, "Good Brother," was a common one at Thebes during the XVIIIth Dynasty, and there are at least three tombs in the Gebel Sheikh Abd el Kurneh of high officials of this period who bore that name. One of these is the well known "tomb of the vine," which was discovered by Hay in 1826, and has recently been published by Virey (*Rec. de Travaux*, Vol. XX, p. 211). The second tomb is that of Sen-nefer, mayor of Thebes under Amenhetep II, the subject of the above note. The third is that of Thothmes IIIrd's Treasurer (*see* Note No. 6, below).

‡ It is possible that this steward of the queen may be identified with Humâÿ, Mayor of Memphis under Thothmes III, whose statue is preserved in the Louvre.



destroyed, showed him   
 . . . .   
*hemset em seh sekhemk<sup>h</sup>h* āb ārt heru nefer henā sen-ef . . .

*mer net zat Amen-em-apt zet Pa-âr*, "seated in the summer-house and diverting the heart by making a good day with his brother . . . the Governor of the town (*i.e.*, Thebes), and Vezîr, Amen-em-apt."

The tomb of this brother I discovered in 1895, and in it is to be seen a portrait of Sen-nefer seated with

 *hemt-es menät seten mert neter Sentnÿ*, "his wife, the royal nurse, beloved of the god (i.e., the King) Sentnÿ." The

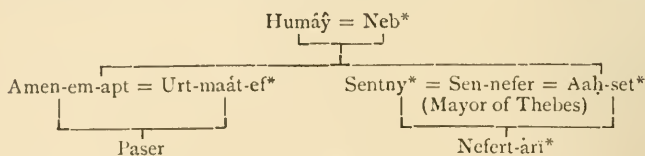
name of Amenemapt's wife  Urt-maât-ef is also recorded

here as well as that of their son  Paser. In the British

Museum there is a statue group of Sen-nefer, his wife Senné,\* and their daughter  Nefert-ari; in the Louvre there

is a granite false door (from the tomb?) bearing, I believe, the name of the same Sen-nefer, but naming a different wife 20

Aah-set. Putting these various facts concerning the family together, we obtain the following genealogical table :—



Besides filling the post of Mayor of Thebes, Sen-nefer bore several other important titles. Among these may be noted the

following:— *mer per ne Ser-Ka maâ*  
*kheru*, "steward of the estates of (?) Amenhetep I deceased."

 *mer khentesh ne Amen*, "Superintendent  
of the garden of Amen."

\* No. 113. The name is here spelt Sent-naÿ. This wife is also named on a funeral cone published by Darassy, *M.M.A.F.C.*, VIII, fasc. 2, No. 78.



Kurneh, and can add a few details concerning his career from the inscriptions in it. He is there described as 

*mer per ur ne seten*, "chief steward of the king"; 

*mer khaset neb ne Amen*, "overseer of the gold mines of Amen";

 *mer aht net Amen*, "overseer of the fields of Amen";

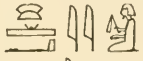
 *mer kha em khet neb*, "overseer of the

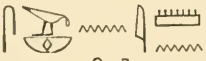
balances or scales" (var. ). On the statue

he is said to be a "superintendent of the priests of Min of Kufi"; in his tomb he bears the additional title of "superintendent of the

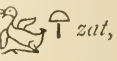
priests of Sebek." His wife's name is also recorded 

Ta-âmu. From a cenotaph of this Sen-nefer at Gebel Silsileh (cf. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XIII, p. 106), it is possible for us to place him among the group of noble favourites of Queen Hatshepsut.

7. THE VEZÎR KHÂÏ. I bought at Thebes in 1896 a fragment of the base of a statue in black granite bearing the name and titles of a vezîr named  KhâÏ. The titles given are the

following:— *Seshem heb ne Amen*, "leader of the festival of Amen";  *seten uhem*, "royal registrar";  *seten*

*sesh*, "royal scribe";  *mer per ur*, "chief steward";

 *mer net*, "governor of the city" (i.e., Thebes); and  *zat*,

vezîr." A fragment of a statue in crystalline limestone of the same individual is in the Dattari collection in Cairo. KhâÏ held office under Rameses II, and in Brugsch's *Thesaurus* are four inscriptions naming him, dated in the years 44-49 of that great monarch.

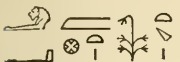
8. THE VEZÎR PASER. Another relic of a vezîr of Rameses II I secured at Thebes in 1897; it is a fragment of a limestone stela showing "the chief justice, the governor of the city (i.e., Thebes), and Vezîr Paser, son of the doctor and priest of Amen in-the-places-of-the-south Neb-neteru," worshipping "the goddess Hathor,





the figure the name is spelt out in full  Paseru ;

on the back of it is written . The only title given is

 *ha em net-res*, "mayor of the southern city" (i.e., Thebes). This interesting relic was found at Kurneh, and is now preserved in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney at Didlington Hall.

12. THE HIEROGLYPHS  AND . Griffith (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 45) states that the former sign represents "a short cord ending in small loops, apparently a handle for drawing or dragging." It is in reality the cord used for tethering animals, and I have often seen it used by the Arabs of the present day for tying the forefeet of horses, donkeys, &c.  *thethet*, as Griffith remarks, is used in *Pyr. T.*,

l. 308, for a binding or catching cord. The verb  *thet*, it should also be noted, has the sense of "seizing" and "binding." The second sign  (Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, Fig. 111, p. 45) is, I believe, nothing more than a series of similar cords tied to a rope for tethering three or more (for sometimes the sign has as many as twelve loops) animals side by side, just as one sees a number of donkeys tethered on to a long rope in the modern Egyptian markets. This origin of the sign would, perhaps, agree with the sense of the word *sa*, which means "to guard," "to protect," etc.

13. THE SIGN . Griffith remarks (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 44) that this has been "supposed to represent a sling, but of this there is no clear evidence, sometimes it may represent a halter." This object is figured in the tomb of Rekhmara among the funeral furniture of that official, where it is represented with his bow, mace, battle axe, and other weapons (*cf.* Steindorff, *Mentuhetep*, Pl. III-IV). Both here and in the more ancient monuments it is clearly a sling, and it is identical in form with slings used by the fellahin to keep away the birds that infest the ripening durrah crops in summer time ; similar slings were used by my gardeners to drive away the birds from the grapes in my vineyard at Luxor (*cf.* Wilkinson, *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 43). The loop at the end of the cord is put over the wrist, and the cord is twisted once round the



hand; the pocket or loop near the centre is then charged with the sling-stone, and the end of the cord held loosely in the hand. In flinging the stone the sling is generally waved twice round the head before the end of the cord is let go to release the stone. Griffith discussing this sign notes that "slingers are mentioned in *Piankhy*, l. 32, and in *Beni Hasan*, II, xv, one slinger seems to be figured; but they are rarely found on Egyptian monuments." I may mention here that there are several slingers represented at Beni Hasan, but owing to the very great reduction of my original drawings (they are  $\frac{1}{20}$ th scale) they are difficult to recognise. See *B.H.*, II, Pl. V, third row from the bottom, just above the testudo. *Cp.* also the similar scene, Pl. XV.) At Thebes slingers are not only frequently represented in the tombs, but also in the battle scenes of the Temples.



A EUPHRATEAN CIRCLE OF  $360^\circ$ .

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

In the *Monthly Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. XL, No. 3 (Jan., 1880), Mr. R. H. M. Bosanquet and Prof. Sayce describe a Tablet, apparently K. 90, 'in the British Museum, written in Accadian which treats of the Moon's position during a month.' This Tablet 'is a copy of an ancient one, probably of date before 2000 B.C.,' and it shows a division of the circle into 480 parts. Some of the numbers are 'unintelligible or corrupt.' The Tablet shows the daily advance and retrogradation of the Moon, which, at the end of the 15th day of the month, has advanced  $240^\circ$  or half round the circle. The Moon is said to advance  $5^\circ$  the 1st day,  $5^\circ$  the 2nd,  $10^\circ$  the 3rd,  $20^\circ$  the 4th, and  $40^\circ$  the 5th. These figures are, very naturally, said by the writers to be 'unintelligible.' From the 6th to the 15th days the Moon is said to advance  $16^\circ$  a day, which, for a circle of  $480^\circ$ , is roughly accurate. The retrogradation of the Moon is next given. From the 16th to the 24th day it retrogrades  $16^\circ$  a day, but from the 25th to the 30th days the figures again become unintelligible. The writers observe that 'it has been assumed that the division of the circle into 360 parts was commonly practised by the Babylonians. There is, however, no authority in the inscriptions for this assumption.' It must be remembered that this was written twenty years ago.

I have long believed that a circle of  $360^\circ$ , corresponding with the year of 360 days mentioned in *W.A.I.*, III, lii, No. 3, Rev. l. 6, would be found in the Inscriptions; and, as a fact, it occurs in Tab. 84-7-19, 273 (B.M.), which formed the 14th Tablet of the great astronomico-astrological work, *The Illumination of Bêl*, and which therefore belongs to the 3rd millennium B.C. The Tablet is



The rest of the Tablet is broken away. The above portion reads :—

|               |      |        |                                          |                            |
|---------------|------|--------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 'The Moon the | 1st  | day to | $\overset{\circ}{3} \overset{\circ}{45}$ | advances ( <i>illak</i> ). |
| „ „           | 2nd  | „      | 7 $30^{\circ}$                           |                            |
| „ „           | 3rd  | „      | 15                                       |                            |
| „ „           | 4th  | „      | $30^{\circ}$                             |                            |
| „ „           | 5th  | „      | 60                                       |                            |
| „ „           | 6th  | „      | $72^{\circ}$                             |                            |
| „ „           | 7th  | „      | 84                                       |                            |
| „ „           | 8th  | „      | 96                                       |                            |
| „ „           | 9th  | „      | 108*                                     |                            |
| „ „           | 10th | „      | 120                                      |                            |
| „ „           | 11th | „      | 132                                      |                            |
| „ „           | 12th | „      | 144                                      |                            |
| „ „           | 13th | „      | 156                                      |                            |
| „ „           | 14th | „      | 168†                                     |                            |
| „ „           | 15th | „      | 180'                                     |                            |

The Moon has now got half round the circle, and its phase is the *Plenilunium*, Sumero-Akkadian IDU LAL (⟨⟨⟨ 𐎶), Semitic *Sin Malû*, with the Latins also called *Oppositio*, the Moon being now opposite the Sun. As half the circle =  $180^{\circ}$ , the whole circle =  $360^{\circ}$ . At this point unfortunately the Tablet is damaged. It continues, as given by Dr. Craig :—

'The Moon the 16th day to  $169^{\circ}$  (168?)  $12^{\circ}$ '

On the 16th day the retrogradation commences, and we should certainly read '168,' *i.e.*,  $12^{\circ}$  from  $180^{\circ}$ . The number '12,' which

\* Dr. Bezold's copy has 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 (‘109’), a mistake for ‘108’ (Vide *sup.*).

† Dr. Craig's copy reads 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 (‘158’), which is an error of some scribe, early or late; for, as will be observed, the context requires ‘168,’ and I have restored the text accordingly.

appears by itself, confirms this. We can restore the rest of the Tablet by analogy as follows:—

|                                 |   |       |         |
|---------------------------------|---|-------|---------|
| ‘The Moon the 17th day to [156° |   |       |         |
| ”                               | ” | 18th  | ” [144  |
| ”                               | ” | 19th  | ” [132  |
| ”                               | ” | 20th’ | ” [120  |
| ”                               | ” | [21st | ” 108   |
| ”                               | ” | 22nd  | ” 96    |
| ”                               | ” | 23rd  | ” 84    |
| ”                               | ” | 24th  | ” 72    |
| ”                               | ” | 25th  | ” 60    |
| ”                               | ” | 26th  | ” 30    |
| ”                               | ” | 27th  | ” 15    |
| ”                               | ” | 28th  | ” 7 30  |
| ”                               | ” | 29th  | ” 3 45  |
| ”                               | ” | 30th  | ” 3 45] |

The Tablet thus gives the daily progress of the Moon as follows:—

|     |                       |     |       |              |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|-------|--------------|
| The | 1st                   | day | 3 45  |              |
| ”   | 2nd                   | ”   | 3 45  |              |
| ”   | 3rd                   | ”   | 7 30  |              |
| ”   | 4th                   | ”   | 15    |              |
| ”   | 5th                   | ”   | 30    |              |
| ”   | { 6th<br>to<br>25th } |     | ” 12  | each (=240°) |
| ”   | 26th                  | ”   | 30    |              |
| ”   | 27th                  | ”   | 15    |              |
| ”   | 28th                  | ”   | 7 30  |              |
| ”   | 29th                  | ”   | 3 45  |              |
| ”   | 30th                  | ”   | 3 45  |              |
|     |                       |     | <hr/> |              |
|     |                       |     | 360   |              |
|     |                       |     | <hr/> |              |
|     |                       |     | 70    |              |

We next observe that the calculations of the Moon's progress in these two circles of  $480^\circ$  and  $360^\circ$  are in perfect harmony. In the circle of  $360^\circ$  the figures are, as they should be in order to correspond,  $\frac{1}{4}$ th lower. The ratio of  $12^\circ$  a day in the latter agrees with that of  $16^\circ$  in the former, and both are roughly correct. This result appears thus :—

|               |         | Tablet K. 90<br>(Circle $480^\circ$ ). | Tablet 81-7-19, 273<br>(Circle $360^\circ$ ).                                                             |
|---------------|---------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lunar advance | 1st day | $5^\circ$                              | $3^\circ 45'$                                                                                             |
| "             | " 2nd " | 5                                      | 3 45                                                                                                      |
| "             | " 3rd " | 10                                     | 7 30                                                                                                      |
| "             | " 4th " | 20                                     | 15                                                                                                        |
| "             | " 5th " | 40                                     | 30                                                                                                        |
|               |         | <hr/> 80 <hr/>                         | <hr/> 60 <hr/>                                                                                            |
|               |         |                                        | $= \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{1}{6} \text{th of the month} \\ \text{and circle.} \end{array} \right.$ |

An astronomical friend has suggested to me that there must be a mistake 'by the original copyists.' But the harmony between the two circles makes this theory untenable. The average progress of the Moon during the first and last five days of the circle of  $360^\circ$  is thus  $12^\circ$  a day, which is the daily progress recorded for the other days of the month; but, for some reason or idea unknown to me, the Moon is represented as moving at an abnormally slow rate on the first three days of the month, as doubling its pace on the 3rd, and as doubling it again on the 4th and on the 5th days, on which latter day it is represented as having  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times its normal rapidity. It is observable that this period of irregular motion coincides with the time during which the Moon is 'new.' Thus, in *IV.A.I. III*, lv, No. 3, l. 1, 2, we read, '[*Sin*] *ina namuri-su 5 úmê Azkaru*' (𐎶 𐎶𐎵), 'The Moon from its appearance for 5 days is New.' The above mode of calculation of the lunar advance constitutes a *crux* to which I invite the attention of those Assyriologists who are interested in Babylonian astronomy. Meanwhile, it is very interesting to meet with our familiar circle of  $360^\circ$ , in addition to the already known Euphratean circles of  $60^\circ$ ,  $120^\circ$ ,  $240^\circ$ , and  $480^\circ$ .



## NOTES ON THE STRASSBURG GOSPEL FRAGMENTS.

BY W. E. CRUM.

It is a remarkable fact that, of the various texts by which the literature of the early Church has, during the past two generations, been enriched, not one of first-rate importance has become known to us through the medium of the Coptic language. It would not be unnatural to expect, from Egypt's early conversion and heroic devotion to Christianity, that the vulgar tongue would have preserved something beyond those remnants of Gnosticism which, for the theologian and perhaps for the philologist as well, constitute to-day the most remarkable documents of Coptic literature.

Although its editor declines to see in the newly found text the survival of a Gnostic work, there can be at any rate no doubt that it belonged to none of the documents which the Catholic Church has been concerned to preserve. Dr. Carl Schmidt was the first to recognize, among the collection of miscellaneous papyrus fragments acquired last year by the Strassburg University, the importance of those which Dr. Jacoby, with the help of Professor Spiegelberg, has just edited, and he pronounced them to be a part of some uncanonical Gospel. Dr. Jacoby, who is responsible for the elaborate theological commentary with which the edition is provided, is inclined to recognize in the text a work whose recovery, even to so limited an extent, would be of the greatest interest—the Gospel κατ' Αἰγυπτίους. Of the value of Dr. Jacoby's reasons for the proposed identification I am not competent to judge. These reasons are shortly: (1) the *primâ facie* probability of an unidentified Gospel, found in Egypt and long enough popular there to be still extant in a Coptic translation at a relatively late period, being that once current under the name of the Egyptians' Gospel; (2) synoptic features in parts of the new fragment such as were—to judge from its extant remains—probably characteristic of the Egyptians' Gospel also; (3) at the same time, evidence of an acquaintance with the

Johannine theology, likewise demonstrable for the Egyptians' Gospel; (4) a Christology, however, still more developed than that of St. John and comparable with that to be discerned in the Egyptians' Gospel, to which (following Harnack) the editor also reckons the Oxyrhynchus *Logia*, where he sees a like stage of development represented; (5) the incidental usage of the word "mystery," which is compared to Epiphanius' employment of the word *μυστηριωδὴς* in reference to the Egyptians' Gospel.

Whether these arguments will suffice to convince theologians of the proposed identification remains to be seen. Should they do so, it will, according to Dr. Jacoby, become necessary to revise the chronological position of the Egyptians' Gospel, placed by Harnack not later than 130, and consequently the relation of that to St. John's Gospel, of which, Dr. Jacoby holds, it either borrowed or to which, as the earlier composition, it supplied certain ideas.

It is further important to observe that, like certain other extra-canonical works of this class, notably the Gospel of Peter, the narrative appears to be put here into the mouths of the Apostles themselves ("we").

The following are the contents of the texts, so far as can be ascertained in their very fragmentary condition. The leaf numbered "Kopt. 5" shows (1) part of a prayer addressed by Christ to His Father, to be placed, according to Dr. Jacoby, shortly before the Passion and compared by him with John xvii; (2) a conversation, narrated by the Apostles, between them and Christ, in which He foretells His approaching fate and—what is very remarkable—uses apparently of Himself the words applied in Mat. xxvi, 41 ("the spirit is willing etc.") to the disciples.

"Kopt. 6" appears to contain (1) a continuation of this conversation, wherein Christ refers to the revelations of His power already granted to His apostles. The name, Mary, occurs here, apparently addressed by Christ. (2) In Dr. Jacoby's opinion a fragment from an account of the Ascension. Of the smaller pieces too little is legible to allow of even a guess at the subjects of which they treat.

The MS. itself, of which three considerable and eleven very small fragments have been recognized and pieced together, is provisionally ascribed by the editors, who are well aware of the caution still needed in any attempt to date the earlier Coptic uncials, to the 5th or 6th century. The letters *ⲁ*, *ⲗ* and *ⲱ* are made each in a

single stroke;  and  are curved. Initial letters do not appear to be in any way distinguished. These features, combined in one MS., recall the Vienna Psalter (Rainer *Führer*, 1892, Taf. IV), which Professor Krall would date in the 6th century, but which might well be placed 100 years earlier. The Psalter is however written by a hand far less skilled and conventionalized than that of the Strassburg MS. There may therefore seem ground for assigning the latter to the period proposed by its editors, though two at least of the *data* on which they support their opinion—the form 

L. 16. I think  $\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\varsigma$  (or rather  $\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\varsigma$ ) more probable here than  $\sigma\tau\omega\psi\varsigma$ ; cf. for instance 2 Tim. i, 10 (= Boh.  $\kappa\omega\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ ), and 1 Cor. xv, 26, with which latter passage indeed one is tempted to read [ $\pi\theta\alpha\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi$ ]  $\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\varsigma\pi\alpha\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma\varsigma$  etc. "By whom shall the last enemy be destroyed?"

L. 18.  $\overline{\chi\rho}$  is of course merely a slip for  $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ , the only abbreviation used in Sa'idic.

*Ib.* A point on which the editor lays stress is the occurrence here of the expression  $\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\ \mu\mu\epsilon\omicron\tau$ . This he translates "the claw of Death," comparing it with the  $\omicron\nu\lambda\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in a curious magical (Christian) invocation in a Gizeh papyrus. This papyrus, which Dr. Jacoby also prints with a commentary, is assigned by Grenfell to the 4th or 5th century, and in it Dr. Jacoby sees a direct quotation from his new Gospel fragments. But is it not possible here to explain the phrase sufficiently by another reference to 1 Cor. xv? For the  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$  in vv. 55, 56, there is unluckily no Sa'idic version preserved; nor is the parallel Hosea xiii, 14 extant in that dialect, while in both places the Bohairic uses  $\sigma\omicron\tau\tau\iota$ . But in the ancient Achmîmic version of Hosea  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  is rendered (as Professor Krall kindly informs me) by  $\epsilon\iota\delta$ ; so too in the Sa'id. Apoc. ix, 10 (*ed.* Goussen). That allows at least of the possibility that Sa'id. 1 Cor. xv, 55, 56 likewise used  $\epsilon\iota\delta$  for  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ , and if we therefore regard the present passage as simply based on that, there remains no reason for connecting it with the "claw of Charon."\*

L. 19.  $\beta\omega\lambda\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ , supplied by the editor, is supported by such passages as Acts ii, 24.

\*  $\epsilon\iota\delta$  or  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\delta$  in Apoc. iv, 8 is puzzling. The Sa'idic of the passage (*ed.* Goussen) has "And the 4 beasts had each of them 6 wings in their  $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\delta$  round about, being full of eyes within," while later MSS. (*ed.* Amélineau and Clédât) read "from (starting from) their  $\epsilon\iota\delta$ ." With this last the Boh. agrees, translating  $\text{والواحد الواحد منهم يحيط بهم من اظافيرهم الى داخلهم}$ . The only other version showing this curious reading seems to be the Syriac of Lord Crawford's MS. (*ed.* Gwynn), where  $\epsilon\iota\delta = 1;26$ . A superficial examination does not appear to show other remarkable resemblances between the Sa'id. and this Syriac text. The Ethiopic, whence some help might have been looked for, avoids the difficulty by reading merely "six wings and these all full of eyes." (So at any rate the nine MSS. of the Brit. Mus.)

"Kopt. 5," *verso*.

L. 5. Even allowing for the frequent license of scribes in omitting a repeated letter,  $\Pi\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\eta\tau\eta$  for  $\Pi\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\tau\eta\tau\eta$  is unlikely. And yet the photograph shows little space to spare.

L. 11. The editors are aware of the improbability of the  $[\pi\omicron\sigma\eta]\epsilon\sigma$  they propose. The extant letters seem indeed too few to warrant at present any suggestions.

Ll. 12, 13. What justifies the insertion of  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ? It scarcely seems suitable with the following  $\chi\omega\omega\eta$ . Nor does the interrogative  $\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon$ , at the end of its sentence, seem admissible.  $\omicron\tau$  might perhaps be the article introducing a predicative clause.

L. 16.  $\delta\omega\lambda\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  in an intransitive sense would, to say the least, be very unusual.

Ll. 21, 22. Dr. C. Schmidt points out to me that this is a quotation of John xv, 20 (*v. text* in *A.Z.*, 1886, 108). The alternative  $\tau$  suggested in l. 21 must of course be adopted.

"Kopt. 6," *recto*.

L. 3. The gap seems more likely to hold  $[\tau\eta]$  than  $[\varsigma]$ , and would thus give "all your power."

*Verso*, l. 5. Would not  $\tau\epsilon[\pi\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma]\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , "our apostleship," be more suitable than "His"?

## NOTES.

*Egypt.*—M. Legrain has been making some important discoveries at Karnak this winter, more especially on the site of the temple of Ptah. Here he has found among other things the oldest monument yet met with at Karnak, a stela of Antef IV of the XIth dynasty, which gives for the first time all the four names of the king. The stela was broken, probably during the troublous period of the Hyksos invasion; but what remained was carefully preserved when the temple was restored, and put back into its original place. The fact is a fresh proof of the care with which the monuments of the past were preserved in the Egyptian temples, and what an abundance of authentic materials for compiling the ancient history of Egypt must still have existed in them when Manetho, the priest of Sebennyptos, undertook the work for his Greek readers.

M. Legrain has also found one of the ancient city-gates, which for the first time gives us an idea of what they were like. It was double, and of great height, and was built of large blocks of limestone inserted in the crude brick wall. A fragmentary inscription shows that the builder was Amon-hotep II.

*The Hittites.*—I have one or two additions to make to my Paper in the *Proceedings* of last June.

(1) The plough  would be "earth" or "land" more naturally than "city," and the Assyrian rendering of the Hittite   by *mat ali* would therefore be rather approximative than exact. The Assyrian rendering was chosen because it was already known in northern Syria, as is shown by the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Perhaps my old idea is right, that the plough had the phonetic value of the Assyrian , *er* or *eri*. If so, this would be an additional reason for the use of the particular combination of cuneiform signs (*mat ali* or *mat er*). It is tempting to read the bull's head in J. I, 2, *e-me-er* or *e-we-er*. It should be noticed, by the way, that in the inscription of Malatiyeh the bull's head—which, as in J. II, 1, must signify "the land of the Bull," or Taurus—is associated with the ideograph of a house, which seems to denote



Milid or Malatiyeh, while in J. I, the bull's head is similarly associated with the ideograph of a temple.

(2) I believe I can now explain the inscription of Fraktin published by Ramsay and Hogarth in the *Recueil de Travaux*, &c., XIV, pl. VI. Above the figure of the god to the left we have



“the god creator, who has made the earth,” the last word being expressed by the plough drawn as it is on the boss of Tarkondemos, and with the “word-divider” attached to the right side. Above the figure of the seated goddess is



“the supreme deity.” Above that of the priest is first of all his name, written ideographically, with the phonetic complement *u* , and then, as Mr. Rylands has pointed out, the ideograph of “high-priest” (see my *Hittite Notes*, XV). Next comes behind him, in a separate compartment, a series of characters which are so rudely formed that I have only lately succeeded in making them out. They read :



“ruling the sanctuary of the land of Das-Tarkon.”

I have already explained the altar; the *u*  which is attached to it is the suffix of the accusative, as is shown by the Bagdad bowl (*Hittite Notes*, X). The arm with clenched fist is similar to the clenched fist which signifies “prince” (*Hittite Notes*, XIII).

Years ago I suggested that the name on one of Mr. Schlumberger's seals (No. 6)    represents that of the Cilician king Sanda-sar-me, and means “Sandon is king.” The character after the determinative of divinity at Fraktin is lost, but there is room only for a small one like the flower, which for the last twenty years I have read *tar*.

Prof. Ramsay has made it clear that Fraktin is the Dastarkon of Strabo (p. 537). In my *Hittite Notes*, XII, I have tried to show that  has the value of *tan*, and I have further pointed out in them that the *medie* and *tenues* were represented by the same characters, *t* and *d*, *b* and *p*, and *k* and *g* interchanging with one another (VIII). To this I have now to add that a character also



represented the three cases—nominative in *-s*, accusative in *-n*, and oblique case with vowel-suffix—of the substantive for which it ideographically stood. This explains the double form of the Komagenian name Kundaspi and Kustaspi met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, which has long been a puzzle to me. Hence  will have the values of *das*, *dan*, and *da*, as well as of *tas*, *tan*, and *ta*. The name of Dastarkon, it will be observed, verifies the value of *ku*, which I have assigned to .

(3) I notice that according to Prof. Bezold (*Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, v, p. 2063), the word which Tiglath-pileser I says was the native title of the Komagenian kings should be read *irru-pi* and not *šaru-pi* (W.A.I. I, x, 26). Now *irru* claims kinship with the Vannic *eri-las* and *eri*, “king,” and is perhaps distantly related to the Vannic *euris*, “lord,” Mitanian *ipris*, “king.” We may also compare the Er of the legend given at the end of Plato’s *Republic*, about which I have discoursed elsewhere. In J. III, 5,     *e - \* - determinative* signifies “ruler” (*Hittite Notes*, XVI), and Prof. Jensen has pointed out that in J. III, 3, it is explained by the ideograph of “king.” Consequently the value of the second character must be *r(u)* or *r(i)*. As it is followed in H. II, 1, by the vowel *e*, I should prefer *ri*.

A. H. SAYCE.

ASSIOUT, February 9, 1900.

M. Barsanti has lately discovered two fine tombs of the period of the XXVIth dynasty, close to the pyramid of Unas at Dahshur. One of them has never been finished, and the inscriptions are accompanied by instructions in demotic to the painter, while the sarcophagus is but partially carved. The German excavators of the temple of User-en-Ra of the Vth dynasty, at Abusir, have found an interesting series of sculptures, representing and explaining the various ceremonies connected with the great festivals which were already observed.

A. H. SAYCE.

HELWAN, March 1, 1900.

## NOTES.—AHURA MAZDA, ETC.

Professor Hommel in the April number of these *Proceedings* calls attention in his "Assyriological Notes" to the name "Assara Mazas" appearing in a list of Assyrian gods. The section of the list in which this name appears contains "a number of foreign sounding names" belonging to gods honoured, presumably, in outlying portions of the Assyrian dominions.

Professor Hommel claims "that this god (Assara Mazas) is no other than the Iranian Ahura Mazda," and he thus concludes his arguments in favour of this opinion—"concerning *Assara-mazas*, I should like to remark in closing this paragraph, that we have here the same older pronunciation of Iranian words as in the Kassitic *Surias*, 'sun' (later Ahura and Hvarya, but comp. Sanscrit Assura and Suria), which is of the highest importance for the history of the Aryan languages. In the same Kassitic period, between 1700 and 1200 B.C. I suppose was borrowed by the Assyrians the Iranian god Assara-mazas."

In a paper entitled "The Median Calendar and the Constellation Taurus," printed in the June number for 1897 of these *Proceedings*, I made a very similar claim for the derivation of the name of the great god of the Assyrians—Assur.

The claim put forward was not based only on the resemblance in sound of "Assur" and "Ahura," but was in the first place founded on the virtual identity of the emblems of Assur and Ahura Mazda. For the *origin* of these emblems (referring as it was suggested they did to the zodiacal constellation Sagittarius) a date as high as 4000 B.C. was, on astronomic grounds, assumed, and it was pointed out that at that date there was no evidence of the existence of the Assyrian nation as a nation, nor any trace of a Semitic worship of the god *Assur*; whereas, on the other hand, as early as 3800 B.C. there is evidence that a powerful Aryan race—the Mauda—rivalled in power, and threatened the Semitic rule of Sargon of Agane.

The opinion that the symbol of Ahura Mazda, and of Assur, was of ancient Aryan origin, naturally suggested the further thought that the *name* Assur, so closely resembling the earlier Indo-Iranian form

*Asura*, of the Iranian *Ahura*, had, together with the emblem of the god, been borrowed from the Aryan ancestors of the Medo-Persians by the Semitic settlers who, early in the second millennium B.C., established themselves to the north of Babylonia. It may here be pointed out that no very certain Semitic derivation at present holds the field which the proposed Aryan derivation would occupy. According to some scholars it comes from a word signifying "a well-watered plain." According to Professor Hommel, the name Assur is derived from a word which originally meant "the heavenly host."

Professor Hommel, quoting as his authority the opinions of the Sanscrit scholar Oldenburg, and reinforcing Oldenburg's opinions by arguments from other sources, further maintains the high probability of the Median god *Ahura Mazda* having been the representative of the Vedic *Varuna*, and also that *Varuna* was the moon.

Vedic scholars are divided in opinion as to what physical phenomenon is represented by *Varuna*. He is very generally supposed to personify "the vast extent of the encompassing sky," some say especially the sky at night time—others claim him as a solar divinity, whilst Oldenburg, as we have seen, supposes him to be the moon. It is not to the question, however, of what phenomenon *Varuna* represented, but as to the probability or improbability of his original identity with the Median *Ahura Mazda*, that I would now draw attention.

It is said that "the parallel in character, though not in name, of the god *Varuna* is *Ahura Mazda*, the Wise Spirit." But a variety of considerations may lead us to entertain the possibility of a Vedic god other than *Varuna* being the parallel in character and in epithet of *Ahura Mazda*; a parallel which is still more clearly to be recognized if we adopt the view, above contended for, of the identity of Assur, the *archer* god of Assyria, with *Ahura Mazda*.

The Vedic god *Rudra* is, like *Varuna*, an Asura or Spirit. He is described as "the wise," and his votaries are encouraged to worship him "for a comprehensive and sound understanding." But in one passage the epithet "*Asuro Maho*," the exact Vedic equivalent of the Avestan "*Ahura Mazda*," is actually applied to him.\* As a wise and great Asura *Rudra*, seems to be as close a parallel to *Ahura Mazda* as *Varuna*; the identity of epithet in the case of *Rudra* makes the parallelism closer.

\* *Rig Veda*, Mandala ii, 1, 6.

Varuna indeed in Vedic estimation held a much higher and more commanding position than Rudra, but considering how opposed the Avestan was to Vedic mythology on important points, we ought not to expect that the god elevated by the Medians above all others should have held a very exalted place amongst the Brahmins of India.

But it is when we turn our thoughts not only to *Ahura Mazda* but to his Assyrian representative *Assur*, that the parallelism between him and Rudra becomes more marked.

Rudra is not only a wise and great Asura, he is above everything else celebrated in the *Rig Veda* as an archer. He has "the sure arrow and the strong bow." \* He is "the divine Rudra armed with the strong bow and the fast flying arrows." †

In the Median paper already referred to, it was suggested that an astronomic observation of the equinoctial colure passing through the constellations Sagittarius and Taurus was the probable origin of Median and (as derived from Median) Assyrian symbolism concerning *Ahura Mazda* and *Assur*. This observation could, as was pointed out, only have been made at the date, in round numbers, of 4000 B.C.

It is a very tempting enterprise to seek in the mythologies of European nations for allusions to this same astronomic observation—an observation made, as we may believe, when the ancestors of the Iranian and Indian Aryans, and possibly the ancestors of the European nations, were still, if not all, dwelling together, at least within easy intellectual touch of each other.

In Grecian fable we have the Centaur (the Bull-killer) Chiron giving his name to the constellation Sagittarius, and in this fable we may, as it would seem, find a better *astronomic* explanation of the term Bull-killer than that usually given concerning the well-mounted Thessalian hunters of wild cattle. The constellation Sagittarius, an archer, half man, half horse, is not a figure of Grecian invention. It is to be met with depicted on Babylonian monuments, unmistakably the archer of our celestial sphere; and this constellation, when it rises in the east, always drives below the western horizon, *i.e.*, mythically exterminates, the last stars of the constellation Taurus.

To Chiron, the chief Centaur, the epithet "wise" is especially

\* *Rig Veda*, Mandala v, x, 11.

† *Rig Veda*, Mandala vii, xlv, 1.

given, and "he was renowned for his skill in hunting, medicine, music, gymnastics, and the art of prophecy;" of these not altogether congruous attributes Rudra the Vedic god possessed three of the most important. He was wise, he was an archer, and he was famed as "a chief physician amongst physicians." \* In a verse, part of which has been already quoted,† worshippers are exhorted to "Praise him who has the sure arrow, the strong bow, who presides over all sanitary drugs; worship Rudra for a comprehensive and sound understanding, adore the powerful divinity with prostrations."

Apollo the far-darter, Artemis the goddess of the silver bow, also shared these same attributes, and Grecian legend would lead us to place them in the same part of the heavens as that allotted to Chiron, *i.e.*, Sagittarius. Apollo prompted Artemis to aim a shaft from her bow at a point on the horizon, and this point was the head of the hunter Orion. Now the constellation Orion is exactly in opposition to the bow stars of Sagittarius; that the legend is astronomical is plainly to be inferred from its variant form, in which Artemis is represented as sending a Scorpion to sting Orion to death. The stars marking the Scorpion's sting are in very close proximity to the bow stars of Sagittarius.

Returning to Indian myths, the name of *Siva* does not occur in the Rig Veda; but in later Sanscrit works Siva is the representative of Rudra. In a hymn to Siva,‡ the following passages occur, and it is difficult to read them and not be reminded of the sculptured figures of Artemis, crescent-crowned and leading a stag by the horns. (Allowance must be made, however, for the tendency in Hindu art to multiply the heads, arms, and features of their gods.)

"I worship the great Mahesa, who shines like ten million suns: who is adorned with triple eyes: who is crowned with the moon: who is armed with the trident, the bow, the mace, the discus, the goad, and the noose:

Who is the eternal Lord;

Who is bright as the snowy summit of Mount Kailāṣe;

Whose matted hair is ablaze with the crescent moon;

• • • • •

Whose hands hold the head of a deer, and a battle-axe;

\* *Rig Veda*, Mandala ii, 1, 4.

† *Rig Veda*, Mandala v, x, 11.

‡ Hymn to Siva, prefixed to "An Exposition of the Principles of Sanscrit Logic," by Bodhundānatts Swami, Calcutta.



Whose forehead is adorned with the bright half moon ;  
 Whose fingers are interlaced to typify a deer ;  
 . . . . .”

For the explanation of the Roman myths of Dianus and Diana (varying forms as the dictionary tells of Janus and Jana) we may naturally seek for the same astronomic origin, as for those concerning the Grecian archer divinities.

Janus indeed has not, so far as I know, ever been represented as an archer or a centaur. The attribute for which he is especially renowned is that of “opener of the year,” and this attribute, on the astronomic theory here proposed, would furnish the connecting link between the varying forms of the Italian deities above mentioned.

The many and still imperfectly understood changes that were made in the Roman year by successive rulers, have effaced the connection of that year with the stars which must have originally presided over its opening. But Roman tradition embodied in Virgil's lines speaks of “the bright Bull” who “with his golden horns opens the year.”\* The golden star-tipped horns of the bull are as we know exactly opposed to the westernmost degrees of Sagittarius ; and that constellation, in opposition to the sun, would therefore have marked the opening of just such a vernal year as that alluded to by Virgil. Whether this vernal year before the Julian reformation was still the calendrical year in Rome is, however, very doubtful.

Janus is represented with two heads, sometimes even with four, “to typify the seasons of the year.” The *full moon* in Sagittarius 4000 B.C. marked the season of the Spring Equinox—the sun then being in conjunction with the stars marking the horn tips of the Bull. The *new moon* in Sagittarius at the same date marked the Autumn Equinox. The *half waning moon* in Sagittarius marked the season of the Winter Solstice ; and the half moon of the *crescent or waxing moon* marked the season of the Summer Solstice. The four heads of Janus may thus have referred to the four seasons marked by the moon in Sagittarius.

The fact that the Indian Archer Rudra (= Siva) and the Grecian archer Artemis, were represented as crowned by the *half*, not the *full moon*, would refer these myths to an Indo-Iranian, not to a somewhat

\* Virgil, *Georg.*, Lib. I, 217, 218.



later Iranian source. It was not to the reformed Iranian Equinoctial year that they pointed, but to the sun's triumph at the solsticial season. In the Roman Janus myth, we may rather detect the later Median influence, and suppose that it referred to a year beginning with the *full moon* in Sagittarius, a year opening in the Spring, when the *sun* was in conjunction with the "gilded horns" of "the bright Bull."

All these mythological indications, derived from Median, Assyrian, Indian, and classical sources, though each of them looked at separately may not speak with much insistence, yet considered together seem to point us more and more clearly as we study them, to the fact that about 4000 B.C. a very important and authoritative observation of the colures (amongst the zodiacal constellations) was made, and that upon this observation much of the mythology of ancient nations was founded.

E. M. PLUNKET.



## NOTES ON THE DECEMBER NUMBER OF THE *PROCEEDINGS.*

The statement of Sir G. Wilkinson, quoted by Mr. Nash, that what he calls the *Lepidotus* is the *binni* of modern Egypt, is a mistake; the *binni* is what he terms the *Oxyrhinchus*. A cemetery of mummified fish, many of which were specimens of the *binni*, was discovered five years ago near the site of the small temple to the north-west of Esna, which was destroyed in the time of Mohammed Ali. The fellahin have a saying: *Ana 'l-binni; in tilqa ahsan minni mâ-tâkûlni*, "I am the *binni*; if you find anything better than me, don't eat me!"

Mr. Johns will find an answer to his question in the Appendix to my recently-published "Babylonians and Assyrians, Life and Customs" (Scribner's Sons), where, by the way, "weight" is an obvious misprint for "night."

Sir Henry Howorth has forgotten a note of mine in the *Proceedings* for November, 1898, where I have pointed out that the original pictorial form of the later cuneiform character *en*, "lord," is to be found in a votive tablet of Ur-En-lil published by Hilprecht: "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania," I, 2, Plate XVI, No. 37. It represents an arm and clenched hand in which is a forked weapon. I have no belief in Prof. Delitzsch's *gunu* theory. *Gunu* was merely a grammatical term, denoting that a particular character in its later form resembled another "with additions."

A. H. SAYCE.

DAHABIA *Istar*,

*Feb. 26th, 1900.*

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 13th March, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

Note by Prof. Sayce (*President*).

Dr. James H. Breasted: "On the Annals of Thothmes III, and the location of Megiddo," etc.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE  
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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*Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.*

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenon im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

———— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

———— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

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HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.

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- JEREMIAS, Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nubukadnezar's Geschichtliche Skizze mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.
- JOACHIM, H., Papyrus Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.
- KREBS, F., De Chnemoth's nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
- LEDERER, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
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VOL. XXII. THIRTIETH SESSION.

*Third Meeting, March 13th, 1900.*

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THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,  
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## Society of Biblical Archaeology.

---

The next Meeting will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, on TUESDAY the 12th of JUNE, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. SAYCE (President), “The Fall of the Assyrian Empire.”

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COUNCIL MEETING AT 4 P.M.



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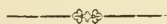
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*Third Meeting, 13th March, 1900.*

F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

---



The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in February :—

Dr. James H. Breasted, Flensburger Strasse 13, Berlin.

Rev. Thomas H. Richards, 80, Bramstone Road, Burton-on-Trent.

---

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting in May :—

Rev. A. B. Sayce, Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street.

---

A Note by Prof. Sayce (*President*), was read by the Secretary.

Two Papers by Dr. James H. Breasted, "On the Annals of Thothmes III, and the location of Megiddo," and "The Monuments in the Inscriptions," were read by Mr. F. Legge.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Admiral Sir Erasmus Ommaney, C.B., Mr. John Tuckwell, Mr. F. Legge, the Secretary, and Chairman.

Thanks were returned for these communications.





first doorway of the tomb; two doors for\* an opening of 5 cubits, 2 palms, for the shrine of the august chamber, which is in this tomb."

The "first doorway" must of course be the doorway leading into the main chamber of the tomb. The dimension given refers to the height of the door itself, not of the opening or doorway as in the case of the second door. With this dimension of the *door* we are now to compare the measurements of the surviving stone doorway, and cannot of course expect an exact correspondence. The height of this doorway from threshold to lintel is 142·7 inches, while the space behind the threshold into which the door swung when closed is, of course, slightly higher, 146·3 inches.† The door was about 144·55 inches (7 average cubits of 20·65 inches), that is nearly 2 inches longer than the height between threshold and lintel, thus allowing the door to lap nearly an inch at each end, as we should expect.

The second door is more interesting. In the first place it was a double or folding door. There is only one double door in this tomb, and that is the door to the shrine containing Khnemhotep's statue, where the holes for the pivots are still preserved on each side of the doorway.‡ In this case our inscription specifies that the "*opening*" is 5 cubits 2 palms§ in height, and the opening of the doorway to-day is 109·25 inches in height, giving us the equations:

$$5 \text{ cubits } 2 \text{ palms or } 37 \text{ palms} = 109\cdot25 \text{ inches.}$$

$$1 \text{ palm} = 2\cdot9527 \text{ inches.}$$

$$1 \text{ cubit (7 palms)} = 20\cdot688 \text{ inches.}||$$

\* Text has gen. "*of an opening.*"

† Both dimensions on Plate XXII.

‡ See Plate XXIII A and p. 53.

§ The sign  "*palm*" is slightly mutilated, but the reading "*palm*" is perfectly certain, for besides being an improbable fraction, the finger would necessarily be vertical, thus , and a dual would be written ; cf. also Griffith, *P.S.B.A.*, XIV, 404-405.

|| Lepsius (L.D., I, 60) gives the height of the opening as 2·78<sup>m</sup>; giving the equation:

$$5 \text{ cubits } 2 \text{ palms or } 37 \text{ palms} = 2\cdot78^m.$$

$$1 \text{ palm} = \cdot07513^m.$$

$$1 \text{ cubit (7 palms)} = \cdot52591^m.$$

This is higher than ·5250, Lepsius's result (*Die Altaegyptische Elle*, Berlin, 1865, Taf. I), and more nearly coincides with that of Brugsch, ·52686<sup>m</sup> (*Aegyptologie*, 372).

In accuracy the ancient measurement leaves nothing to be desired.\*

Furthermore, the identification of this doorway determines accurately the meaning of . It is here the shrine hewn in the back wall of the main chamber, to contain the statue of the deceased. This fixes accurately also the meaning of  as the large colonnaded chapel, the main chamber of the tomb, to which the  belonged.

## II.

The inscription of Inni () contains much of architectural as well as of historical importance. The historical data which it furnishes have been very fully discussed, but the architectural references have not been treated. At present I can do no more than call attention to two most important monuments on which it furnishes us evidence.

1. It has sometimes been stated that Thutmose I erected only one of the two obelisks standing before his pylons in Karnak. The standing obelisk states that he erected both.†



This is corroborated by the inscription of Inni.



2. I think it has not been noted that Inni was the architect who constructed the cliff-tomb of Thutmose I, the earliest royal tomb of this kind of which we are informed. The passage is as follows : §

\* As the average of the extant rods Petrie gives 20·65, and from the great pyramid 20·620 (*Encyc. Brit.*)

† L.D., III, 6.

‡ *Rec.*, XII, 106, l. 9. These were afterward landed at Karnak (l. 10), and as no other obelisks of Thutmose I are known there, they must be the pair in the great Amon temple.

§ *Rec.* XIII, 107, ll. 11-13. I have also collated Boussac's publication of the tomb in the "Mission," but his texts are worthless.





designate the necropolis located in the cliffs was very natural, as at El Kab : \*

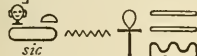


“(When) thou art buried in the western necropolis.” (Paheri 9, Backwall).

The word was however still further specialized to mean the individual tomb itself,† thus :

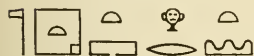


“O, every prophet, every priest, every scholar, who comes to [this] tomb of the necropolis.”‡ Or again

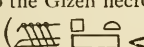
 “Tomb of the (Memphite) necropolis.”§

In our context, the meaning “tomb” is evident from the connection which follows, and especially from the preceding verb, *šʾd*, “dig, excavate,”|| which could apply only to the tomb. There was therefore documentary evidence in our hands before the discovery of Thutmose I’s tomb, that he had been buried in the cliffs of western Thebes,¶ and not in a masonry tomb on the plain below, as was

\* It was also used to designate the temple of Hathor in the district :



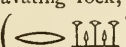
(Brugsch, *Dict. Geog.*, 523). For its possible use in

reference to the Gizeh necropolis, see Borchardt, *Z.A.*, XXXII, 88ff. The “upper chamber” () meaning the king’s mortuary chapel (Uni, l. 49), owing to the lack of the determinative , has no other connection with our word than the common root.

† That may be its meaning in the preceding example.

‡ Stela Berlin, 2118; 3rd cent. B.C.

§ Berlin, 12410; I am indebted for this and the preceding example to the MS. lexicon at Berlin.

|| *šʾd* (*šād*) is used especially of excavating rock, *e.g.*, the rock of the first cataract : “His Majesty sent [me] to dig () 5 canals in the south” (Uni, ll. 45-46); and again : “His Majesty commanded to dig (*šʾd*) this canal.” (Inscription of Thutmose III on Sehel at the first cataract.)

¶ I have similar remarks in Class MS. used over two years ago before a class in the University of Chicago. The tomb of Thutmose I was discovered by Loret last winter

customary before his time. The remarkable references to the secrecy with which the tomb was constructed, are quite in accord with the indications about the tomb itself.

It is not quite certain that the section following (beginning *yw d' rny* = *aw t'ārna*) belongs to the description of the construction of the king's tomb, owing to the lacuna at the end of line 11, and the plural suffix with *ysw-sn*, where we expect *ysw-s*, if the reference is to the king's tomb.

### LATER.

The inscriptions on the Louvre statue of Hepuseneb published by Mr. Newberry in the last issue of the *Proceedings* (XXII, pp. 32 ff) have just reached me. They furnish an important confirmation of the reference to the tomb of Thutmose I in the inscription of Inni.

Among his other commissions Hepuseneb was commissioned by Thutmose I "to conduct the work on his cliff-tomb" (l. 8). The word for "cliff-tomb" is   as in the inscription of Inni, and Hepuseneb perhaps was one of Inni's subordinates, or the reverse.

In l. 17, after a lacuna, there is a reference to some object (the name was in the lacuna) "of ebony wrought with gold." It occurred to Prof. Sethe and me, on seeing this, that it may be the well known ebony shrine of Dêr-el-Bahri (Vol. II, pl. XXV-XXIX). The inscription is another illustration of the importance of contemporaneous evidence regarding the monuments. Is not the royal name inserted also (as on the ebony shrine) for that of Hatshepsut? See   twice and   (!! ) which certainly cannot belong to Thutmose I.

### III.

Among the rewards received by Amenemheb, the officer who accompanied Thutmose III, on his Syrian campaigns, were   (ll. 16 and 21)\* usually rendered "helmets." In Ebers's corrected text,† line 16 has   !! and line 21,  .

\* *Z.A.*, 1873, p. 5.

† *Z.D.M.G.*, XXX, facing p. 396.

The same objects were also presented to Ahmose-pen-Nekhet of Elkab, by Ahmose I. The word has disappeared on the Louvre statue-base,\* but is well preserved on a duplicate† in possession of Mr. Finlay, where it appears as . This is the word written :

  in Pap. Ebers, ‡ and meaning “flies.” The ‘ff’ were therefore the well-known golden flies of the Cairo collection, and these texts explain their use.§ Flies of bone or ivory are also in the Berlin collection.

\* Leps., *Ausw.*, XIV = Prisse, *Mon.*, IV.

† Maspero, *Z.A.*, 1883, p. 78.

‡ In the receipt, 97, 20-21.

§ Sethe informs me that in the MS. of Steindorff’s “Blüthezeit,” which has not yet appeared, there is a remark that golden flies were presented to deserving officers. It occurs to me that I have also seen it somewhere in the “Records of the Past,” and the remark may be an old one.





## THE ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III, AND THE LOCATION OF MEGIDDO.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

The annals of Thutmose III furnish us unequivocal testimony as to the location of Megiddo, at el-Lejjun, called in question by Conder. As this testimony has never been fully employed, it may be well to briefly present it here, for the use of Biblical students.

On the 19th of Pachons (year 23), Thutmose had already pushed up the southern slope of Carmel, on the Megiddo road, and camped that night at a place called Erune ('*run*'), which has not yet been identified (l. 57).<sup>\*</sup> On the morning of the 20th he resumed the march northward (l. 58), and while in the mountains was attacked<sup>†</sup> by the enemy in sufficient numbers to excite the fears of the Egyptian officers lest the rear, which was still in Erune,<sup>‡</sup> should be cut off and isolated, and at the same time be unable to assist them in forcing the passage of the mountains (ll. 72-77). Thutmose therefore halted till the rear came up (l. 77), and the advance was then resumed. At noon the front issued from the pass, and almost an hour later, "his majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo" (l. 1).<sup>§</sup> Now in the narrative of the 20th, before the statement that the rear had

<sup>\*</sup> From the texts of the Annals: L.D., III, 31b, ll. 1-67; *ib.* 32, ll. 1-32 = Br. *Thes.*, V, pp. 1153-1166, ll. 1-79 and 1-21. Lines cited from L.D., unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>†</sup> This encounter in the mountains has escaped all the historians except Meyer (*Gesch.*, 239). See *e.g.*, Maspero, *Struggle*, 257, Wiedemann, *Gesch.*, 347.

<sup>‡</sup> The text is quite clear on this point: "Now the rear of the victorious army of his majesty was at Erune" (l. 69).

<sup>§</sup> *Thes.*, p. 1159.

left Erune, and just before the account of the encounter with the enemy in the mountains, we find the following words :



“The south wing was in Taanach, the north wing was in the ground south of . . . . .”† These words have always been applied to the Egyptian army. But this is utterly impossible ; long before the front has issued from the mountain pass leading to Megiddo, and while the rear is still in Erune, on the south slope where they spent the night, we are to believe that the south wing is at Taanach, on the north side of the Carmel range and far to the east ! If the south wing of the Egyptians was at Taanach, the north wing must have been considerably further north, and not in the mountains. The whole difficulty is cleared away when we refer the words to the *enemy*.‡ They were waiting for the Egyptians in the plain of Jezreel, with their south wing at Taanach,§ and their line extending thence toward Megiddo.|| At the same time they have a force in the mountains harassing the Egyptians as they pass along the Megiddo road. As the Egyptians advanced to battle the next day, Thutmose had thrown out his north wing to the north-west of Megiddo,¶ having camped south of Megiddo the night before. This shows that the enemy had in the interval shifted *north-westward* from Taanach, for the defence of Megiddo.

These data are decisive in determining the location of Megiddo. A Syrian army which is defending Megiddo is posted with the south

\* L.D., III, 31b, ll. 63-64 = Brugsch, *Thes.*, V, p. 1158, ll. 63-64.

† The lacking geographical name has been supposed by most commentators to be Megiddo.

‡ The position of the words in the narrative, before the account of the encounter with the enemy in the mountains, is what we should expect ; first the enemy's position, then the encounter. The reference to the enemy has doubtless been lost in one of the many lacunæ.

§ Probably to cover the Taanach road.

|| This is not proven by the restoration of Megiddo in the above lacuna, but by the position of Thutmose's army on the next day.

¶ Text : Brugsch, *Thes.* V, p. 1161, l. 3 = L.D., III, 32, l. 3.

wing at Taanach (Tannuk), and a small advanced force harassing an enemy advancing *northward* through the mountains along the Megiddo road. It will be seen at once that these operations will not suit *Mujedda'*, east of Mount Gilboa, where Conder places Megiddo; on the other hand, they suit the location of Megiddo at el-Lejjun in every particular. Indeed, if we had no other data for the identification of Megiddo, these facts would decisively locate it in the vicinity of el-Lejjun.

---

In the discussion which followed the reading of this note, it was pointed out that Col. Conder's proposed identification of Mujedda with the ancient Megiddo, had already been refuted in the Quarterly Statement of the *P.E.F.* [1880, p. 224, and 1881, p. 232]. In the translation of the *Annals* given in Prof. Petrie's *History of Egypt*, Vol. II, pp. 106, *sqq.*, the encounter in the mountains and the identification of the army, whose positions are given as that of the Syrians and not of the Egyptians, are fully suggested. It is satisfactory to find that Dr. Breasted and Prof. Petrie's translations, working apparently on independent lines, have both arrived at the same conclusion. In the *History* the modern Arareh is suggested as the site of Erune or Aaruna.

W. H. R.



THE WORD   *KHA*, A "*DÍWÂN*" OR  
"OFFICE."

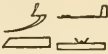
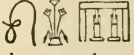
BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

The word   *kha* (sometimes written   *ukha*, and    *uakhi*) frequently occurs in Egyptian inscriptions of all periods from the time of the VIth Dynasty. It is derived from   *ukha*,\* "a column," and means primarily a "columnar chamber" or "columned hall," in which sense it occurs in the Pyramid Texts (*Pep̄y* I, 432). From the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, however, its use seems to be confined to a columnar-chamber used for judicial and business purposes, and the word therefore corresponds very nearly to the Arabic  *diwân*, which is not merely an "office" or "place of account or reckoning," but also "a court, an audience hall, tribunal of justice, revenue, &c." From representations in a tomb at Beni Hasan† and in the tombs of three vezirs at Thebes, it appears that the *kha* was a rectangular hall, the roof of which was supported by two rows of three columns each. The determinative of the word  shows that it was walled on both sides, and from the Beni Hasan and Theban paintings it is clear that only one end was bounded by a wall, the other end being open to the air. From the following study of the word it will be seen that (a) the king and his principal officers each had their own audience hall or office, and that (b) the chief departments of the administration possessed an office also.

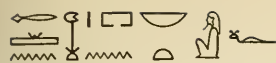
\* A variant   *ukha* occurs in a XIth Dynasty stela from Abydos (Mar., *Cat. Abyd.*, 545).

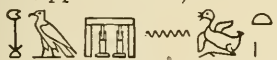
† Vide *Beni Hasan* I, Pl. XXVI, right hand side of doorway, upper row.

(a) The audience-halls or diwâns of the King and his officials.

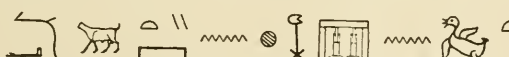
(1)  *kha ne seten*, "diwân es sultân," the hall of audience where the king administered publicly his affairs and conferred his favours: =  *uakh*, *Sanehet*, l. 251, "the royal children stood before the *âhâ*-palace to conduct me; the *semeru*-courtiers who were to introduce\* me to the *uakh* brought me on the way to the *âkhenut*-interior." In the *Westcar Papyrus*, VIII, 9, 10, we read: "his majesty went into the  of the *per-âa* and Dedâ was introduced to him." In the *Boulac Papyrus*, No. 18, it is in the *uakhî* of the *per-âa* that *feka*, "rewards," are given (Pl. XXVI, Entry No. 1). So also in the same document it is to the *uakhî* that the  "officials" are invited or "proceed"  in order to eat bread [with the king?] (Pls. XXXVII and XXXVIII and Pl. XLV, where are given two *âm-ren-ef*, "lists of names," of the officials *setau er unem ta* who went to eat bread in the *uakhî*). Again, in Pl. XVII, Entry No. 4, certain *neter hetepu*, "divine offerings," are stated to be  *maâ*, "offered," in the *uakhî* to the god Mentu when he visited the great house." It is in the  *uakh* (*Rekhmara*, IX, 2) that Thothmes III instals Rekhmara into the vezirate of Upper Egypt. The chief officer of this diwân was  *mer kha ne seten*, "overseer of the royal audience-hall," who doubtless had charge of the police regulations, and was perhaps also a kind of master of the ceremonies. At Draḥ Abu'l Negga is the tomb of a certain Neb-Amen who filled this position under Thothmes II. At a later period we read of an

\* It is interesting to note that the word  *setau* is also used in the same connection in the *Westcar Papyrus*, viii, 10; in the *Boulac Papyrus*, No. 18; on the stele of Antef in the Brit. Mus., No. 572 (quoted below); and in *Rekhmara*, IX, 2. It has the sense of moving in an orderly manner, as of soldiers *marching* (cf. Tomb of Amenemheb, where *menfy*, soldiers, are said to ).

 *âa ne kha ne nebt ef*, "great one of the audience hall of his Lord (*i.e.*, the king) (*Hood-Wilbour Papyrus*, in *Brit. Mus.*, and *cf.* Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd series, pl. 30); he is evidently the same official as the earlier *mer kha ne seten*. Maspero (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1888, p. 278) considers that the *âa ne kha* corresponds to the *ὑπομνηματόγραφος* cited by Strabo (797), but this latter officer was an Alexandrian official solely concerned with the writing of minutes and records, and I can see no reason for connecting him with the earlier *âa ne kha* (*cf.* Lumbroso, *Recherches*, pp. 180-182).

(2)  *kha ne zat*, *dîwân el vezîr*, "the audience hall of the vezîr," in which *speru*, "petitions," were heard, judgments given and business of all kinds transacted (*cf.* *Rekhmara*, II, III, IV). Taxes were paid into it (*Rekhmara*, V, VI), and supplies of corn, &c., were drawn from it for government officials (*Boulac Papyrus*, No. 18, Pls. XXV, XXVII and XXIX, &c.). Officials received their commissions and orders in it (*Louvre*, C. 12). Legal documents were drawn up in it (*Kahun Papyri*, XIII, 10, where there is a will, "made in the *kha ne zat* in the presence of the vezîr"). In it was taken the oath of allegiance (*Kahun Papyri*, IX, 1-16, census list of a household who took oath of allegiance in the *kha ne zat*; *cf. idem*, ix, 22, another similar document, and Grebaut, *Rec. de Monuments Choïsés*, II, where there is apparently mentioned an  made in the *kha ne zat User* [*temp.* 21 Thothmes III]). Accounts of payments for government officials (*K.P.* XIII, 10-11); requisitions for food (*Boulac Papyrus*, No. 18, XIX) as well as other official writings (*Rekhmara* III, 27) were made in it. Documents were sealed with the office seal (Petrie, *Illahun*, IX, 5 and 9, where are two impressions from large scarabs bearing the name of the *kha ne zat*.)\*

The officials whose duty it was to attend in the *kha* of the vezîr, were, besides the vezîr himself:—

(a) The  *mer âkhenuti ne kha ne zat*, "overseer of the interior of the office of the vezîr" (*Mélanges Archeol.*, 1875, p. 217; *Rekhmara*, II, 2). One of

\* For a plan of the vezîr's office and for the arrangement of the officials in it, see my *Rekhmara*.



his duties was to introduce the officials into the vezîr's presence (Stela of Antef in Brit. Mus., No. 572\*); he had also to be courteous to all (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd Series, Pl. 83, l. 12); and to be acquainted with the business carried on in all government departments (*idem*, l.q.).

(b) The  *ari khet ak*, "officer concerned with things entering," perhaps the keeper of the stores which were deposited in the office? (*Rekhmara*, II, 2; cf. Mar., *Mon. Abyd.*, 208).

(c) The twenty  *uru res met*, "elders of the southern tens" (*Rekhmara*, II, 2; for the number see *idem*, IV).

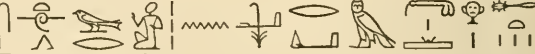
(d) The twenty  *seshu ne zat*, "scribes of the vezîr" (*Rekhmara*, II, 2, and for the number see *idem*, IV).

(e) The  *ari aa ne kha ne zat*, "bawab or door-keeper of the audience-hall of the vezîr," Mar., *Mon. Abyd.*, 250, and *idem*, 334, where I suspect  needs correcting to ; cf. also Schiap., *Cat. Flor.*, p. 86.

(f) The  *uput ne zat*, "messengers of the vezîr" (*Rekhmara*, II, 3, *et seq.*).

(g) The ushers of the court, who, armed with short staves, brought forward the petitions (*Rekhmara*, IV).

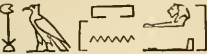
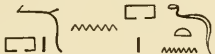
(3)  *kha ne mer khetem*,† "office of the Chancellor," perhaps equivalent to the Arab *diwan el bêt el mâl*. The chief official here was, of course, the *mer khetem*, under whom was a  *mer*

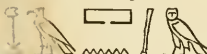
\* The text runs  *setau uru ne kema erte em bah her khet sen em kha ne repa zat*, "[I] introduced the elders of the south and caused them to fall down upon their bellies (*i.e.*, to bow down to the ground) in the office of the *Erpa* and vezîr."

† I have collected a large amount of evidence concerning this title and believe that the  sign should here be read *khetem* and not *sâhu*.



*âkhenut ne kha ne mer khetem*, "Overseer of the interior of the chancellor." (Stele of Anÿ-ankh in the Gizeh Museum; cf. Mar., *Mon. Aby.*, 229, and *Louvre*, C 5, *temp.* Amenemhat III.)

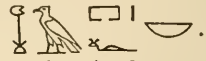
(4)  *kha* [*ne hâ*], "office of the mayor." Khnemhetep, the *hâ* of the town of Menat-Khufu in Middle Egypt (*temp.* XIIth Dynasty), writes:—*qed-nâ*  *rem-nâ em aa se-âhâ-nâ su em ukhu ne mat sesh em ren-â zes-â*, "I built an office which I found as a field: I set it up on columns new, written upon with my own name" (*Beni Hasan*, I, xxvi, ll. 194-199). The columns of Rekhmara's *kha*, it should be noted, bear *his* name as well as that of the then reigning king, Thothmes III (*Rekhmara*, IV). On the west wall of the tomb of Khnemhetep two *khas* are figured (*Beni Hasan*, I, xxix, upper row, right hand side); over one the  *mer khetem*, "chancellor," is presiding, over the other appears to be the  *mer per ne per zet*, "reward of the wakf."

(5)  *kha ne uhem*, "office of the Registrar." In *Lahun Papyri*, XII, 5, it is stated that a dossier of legal documents containing copies of titles to property was deposited in the *kha ne*  "office of the second registrar (?) of the South." In the same collection of papyri (xxxiv, ll. 37-38) a man is said to "die in the *kha* of the *uhemu*."\*

(b) The *divâns* of the administrative departments.

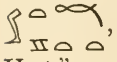
(6)  *kha ne per-seten*, "office of the royal domain." In *Rekhmara*, III, we read that *entef âr*  "it is he (*i.e.*, the vezîr) who appoints the superintendents of the *shentu*-courtiers in the office of the royal domain." It is probable that it is to the *khas* of the *per-seten* that

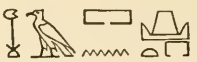
\* Griffiths remarks in a note on this passage that "in modern Egypt the verb موت *met ef* is often used in exaggerated speech for the effect of hard work: this may be the case here." I would, however, suggest that *met ef em kha ne uhema* may be legal expression meaning that a man's name has been erased from the registrar's roll, in other words, that a man is an outlaw, legally dead?

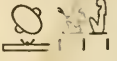
Amenemhat refers in his biographical inscription at Beni Hasan (*B.H.I.*, VIII, 17) *nen ħert-à er à em* . There were no arrears to me in any of his (i.e. the king's) *khās*."

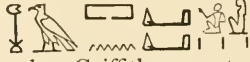
(7) , *kha ne aht*, "office of the fields."

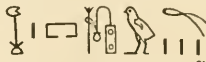
In an unpublished inscription of the XVIIIth Dynasty at El Kab, a certain Renni is called  *spet-her em kha ne aht*, "clever (or sharp) in the office of the fields."

In the tomb of Sebeknekht, also at El Kab, the *kha ne aht* is likewise mentioned (*L.D.*, iii, 136); and in the *Kahun Papyri*, IX, 9-22, we read of "a copy of a census list of a household who took oath of allegiance in the *kha* of the vezir," being *ār em kha ne aht* , "made in the office of the fields of the northern Uart."

(8)  *kha ne shent*, "office of the granary."

This office appears to be mentioned in the *Kahun Papyri* (XIV. 1. 2), where it is stated that a list of workmen was drawn up in it in the presence of an  *ādenu*, "wakil," by the  *ħeseb remt*.

(9)  *kha ne tete remt*, "office of providing men," and as Griffith suggests, "the labour bureau." In the *Kahun Papyri* (XIII, 11) there is mentioned an  *kha ne tete remt*, "scribe with the seal of the labour office." Another official of this bureau is named on a stela from Abydos:  *kha tete remt*, "ām-sa? of the labour office." *Cat. Ab.* 897.

(10)  *kha ne seshu*, "office of writings" (i.e. Library). In the Anastasi Papyrus I (*Select Papyri*, I, 2) we read of a *sebaÿ kher-à em* , "busy teacher in the library." In the *Harris Papyrus I*, 26, 9, , *uzut*, "written orders" are said to be stored in the *kha ne seshu ne Ta-merà*, "office of the Library of Egypt" (i.e., Record Office). Secret documents were also preserved here (*idem*, 47, 8 and 57, 6; 60, 9).



## NOTES D'ASSYRIOLOGIE

PAR ALFRED BOISSIER.

§ 1. M. Wiedemann tout en admettant l'importance des inscriptions assyriennes pour l'histoire de l'Égypte, a émis un jugement empreint d'une sévérité qui me paraît excessive. Il s'en prend à Asarhaddon et à Assourbanapal ; l'un ayant parlé de serpents à deux têtes, l'autre ayant mentionné la Lydie comme un pays au-delà de la mer, doivent être suspectés d'exagération et de mauvaise foi. Examinons l'un et l'autre de ces arguments sans nier cependant que M. Wiedemann n'écritait plus aujourd'hui ce qu'il écrivait en 1884. Je crois qu'il n'est pas un assyriologue qui ne reconnaitrait comme moi, qu'Asarhaddon est de tous les rois d'Assyrie le plus véridique et le moins disposé à laisser galoper son imagination, dans ses mémoires militaires. Lorsqu'il se rend du pays de Muşur en Meluḥḥa (voir Winckler, Muşri, Meluḥḥa, Ma'in), c.-à.-d., du pays de Juda vers l'Arabie, il raconte qu'il parcourut une contrée infestée de serpents à deux têtes (Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*, p. 121). Ors il est hors de doute que ces serpents à deux têtes sont des *amphisbènes*, sauriens, au corps allongé, cerclé d'anneaux, dont la tête et la queue de forme conique présentent une grande ressemblance entre elles ; je me suis adressé à M. le docteur Victor Fatio, qui a eu l'amabilité de me donner les détails suivants sur ces animaux : "*Genre Amphisbène, Amphisbaena*. Ce nom vient de *ἀμφίς* et de *βαίνειν*, soit : marchant dans les deux sens. Ce sont des reptiles rappelant à première vue des serpents, mais appartenant aux sauriens, bien qu'ils n'aient pas des membres apparents ; leurs narines sont petites et leurs yeux peu visibles." L'espèce mentionnée par le roi d'Assyrie paraît être l'*Amphisbaena Cinerea*, Vandelli, dont il y a au Muséum de Genève deux exemplaires.\* M. Winternitz, dans une monographie des plus

\* Un de ces exemplaires que j'ai vus était indiqué comme provenant des environs de Tibériade.

captivantes, parue dans les *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft de Vienne*, Vol. XVIII, p. 25 et suiv. (1888), sur ce sujet : “ Der Sarpabali, ein altindischer Schlangencult,” rappelle (p. 35, Note 1) que dans l’Atharvaveda le “svaja” désigne un serpent à deux têtes et il ajoute : “ Der Svaja ist aber gewiss nichts anderes, als die Amphisbaena der Alten, von der Plinius (*Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 23, 35), sagt : “ Die Amphisbaena hat vorn und hinter einen Kopf, als wenn es noch nicht genug wäre, wenn sie aus einem Rachen Gift spiee.” Winternitz rapporte que le professeur Bühler vit un jour une amphibène qui se glissa sous sa tente ; comme il venait de la tuer un Indou, qui se trouvait là lui dit : “ Vous voyez bien que le serpent a deux têtes.” Il n’y a donc rien d’extraordinaire dans le récit d’Asarhaddon. Les Assyriens de même que les Indous et d’autres peuples avaient donné le nom de serpents à deux têtes aux amphibènes. Le mot *širu* désigne par conséquent tout animal rampant, les *ophidiens* et les *sauriens*.

Passons à l’autre argument sur lequel M. Wiedemann s’appuie pour taxer Assourbanapal de vantardise et d’exagération. Je trouve qu’il ne mérite aucune réfutation, car pour les Assyriens, l’Asie-Mineure occidentale ne pouvait être qu’au delà de la Méditerranée ; la Lydie était bien au delà puisqu’on pouvait y accéder par mer, mais le roi d’Assyrie n’en conclut pas qu’on ne pouvait l’atteindre par voie de terre. Que lorsqu’il prétend que ses prédécesseurs n’en avaient pas même entendu le nom, cela peut être mis en doute ; loin de moi de vouloir croire sur parole les récits de tous ces monarques, mais il faut choisir des exemples probants pour démontrer les lacunes des annales assyriennes. M. Wiedemann nous excusera d’avoir voulu réhabiliter Asarhaddon et Assourbanapal ; dans la prochaine édition de son histoire il leur rendra justice, nous n’en doutons pas.

## § 2. *Mindêma, mindi, mandî.*

L’explication donnée par Zimmern, *Z.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 104 et suiv., n’est pas rigoureusement exacte. La traduction du passage de Sanchérib Bavian 40 est inadmissible. Pognon avait vu plus juste. Voici comme je comprends : “ Apprenant (mandima) que Sanchérib a été mis en fureur, qu’il va retourner en Elam,” etc. *Mandima* ne peut avoir ici d’autre sens que celui indiqué par

† *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 1884, pp. 99 et 100.



Zimmern pour *abbuna*, *piqa* = "ersichtlich," etc., p. 109. Je suis entièrement d'accord avec lui pour ce qu'il dit de l'assyrien מִרְע, thème secondaire d'où dérive *mindî*, mais je crois que nous pouvons arriver au même sens par un autre chemin. Il s'agit d'être au clair sur la colonne de gauche avec ses innombrables *i-gi-in-zu*. Si l'on part de ce principe faux à mon avis que *iginzu* est sumérien, on n'arrivera pas à déterminer la signification des mots de la colonne de droite, tandis que si l'on reconnaît en toute franchise que *iginzu* recèle un mot assyrien, on en obtiendra le sens par un raisonnement parfaitement logique.

*i-gi-in-zu* = *i-gi-iz-zu* = *i-gi-is-su* = *i-gi-it-su* ; *igitsu* = *igittu* avec suffixe de la troisième personne du masculin singulier. De plus *igittu* = *igiltu* = féminin du mot *igu*, voir Del., *H.W.*, p. 13, signifie "vision," "apparition," "constatation," "évidence," *igitsu* (*iginzu*) = "sa constatation," "sa certitude," c.-à.-d., évidemment, apparemment. Tel est le sens que Zimmern attribue à *appuna*, *piqa*, c.-à.-d., "ersichtlich." C'est ainsi que nous pouvons comprendre le mandima du passage de Sanchérib, qui signifie toute autre chose que "seinerseits." D'après ce qui précède nous pouvons donc établir que *tu-us-ša-ma* ne signifie point "du setzest fest," ce qui serait en contradiction absolue avec *iginzu*, mais "tu vois," "tu perçois," "tu comprends," d'un verbe שִׁים, qui n'a rien à voir avec שִׁים, "fest setzen," mais qui a le sens de "einsehen," d'où le substantif *tašimtu* = "Einsicht." Conclusion : Par des raisonnements à prioristiques basés sur la théorie sumérienne on n'obtient aucun résultat précis, on reste à la surface des questions, on piétine sur place.

### § 3. *isku* = *kisku* = *kiksu*.

Syllabaires de Scheil, *Z.A.*, 1894, p. 220 ; *Z.A.*, 1895, p. 202, l. 5. Voici comme il faut compléter *Z.A.*, 1894, p. 220 ; S., 31, 52 obv.

1. *kis(is)-kut* = *ki-ik-[su]*
2. *kis(is)-kut* = *ni-ik-[su]*
3. *kis(is)* <sup>*ku-tu*</sup> *-kut* = *ni'-[ru]*.

Il existe en assyrien un mot *kiskutu*, comme nous le voyons soit par ce syllabaire soit par un autre publié par Scheil, *Z.A.*, 1895, p. 194 l. 5, *kiskuttu* ; la lecture est donc certaine, quoique Meissner,

*Supplem.*, p. 49, et Scheil, *Z.A.*, 1895, p. 203, l'aient mise en doute ; *kiskutu*, *kiksu*, *niksu*, *ni'ru*, sont parfaitement sémitiques. Je rappellerai que *kaksû*, Del., *H.W.*, p. 327, me paraît devoir être ramené à un même thème que *kiksu*. *Kiksu* = 𐎧𐎢𐎶, Brockelmann, p. 157, de même que *kaskasu* (Meissner, *Suppl.*, p. 48) = 𐎧𐎢𐎶𐎵, Brockelmann, p. 162 ; *kiksu* = *kaksu* = arme ; 𐎧𐎢𐎶 idéogramme de *kakku*, arme, peut se lire *kisku*, les valeurs *giš*, *gis*, *kis*, n'ayant jamais pu être prouvées comme étant sumériennes. Ors *kisku* par une interversion de lettres des plus naturelles n'est autre que *kiksu* ; 𐎶 a certainement le valeur *su*, nous sommes en droit de le supposer et l'étendue de la polyphonie assyrienne nous y autorise. Nous avons ainsi :

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{𐎧𐎢𐎶} & = & \text{𐎧𐎢𐎶} \\ \text{kis-ku} & = & \text{kak-su} \end{array}$$

Il se peut fort bien que le vrai mot d'arme en assyrien ait été à l'origine *kaksu* et soit devenu dans la suite *kakku*. J'irai même plus loin et dirai que 𐎶 représentait anciennement un phonème *ks*, dont la tendance à s'adoucir s'est portée tantôt vers *k* tantôt vers *s* ; si on examine la liste des valeurs syllabiques que donne Brünnow, p. 426, l'on verra que le son *s*, *š*, a plus de représentants que le son *k*. Je vois dans les *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, de Wright, p. 41, que Lagarde et d'autres ont constaté ce phénomène dans les autres langues sémitiques. *niksu* = "Abschlagung," "Abhauung," Del., *H.W.*, p. 463, sens que j'attribue sans hésiter à *ni'ru* que je rapproche de *nêru*, Del., *H.W.*, p. 439 ; *kiskuttu* = "coup violent, tranchant, anéantissement."

§ 4. Dans le vocabulaire de Berlin publié par Reisner, *Z.A.*, 1894, p. 161, nous avons plusieurs verbes ayant une signification commune, celle de *voir*.

$$\text{L. 19. } id-is = a-kis = pa-gu-u = pa-qu-u.$$

*id* a la valeur parfaitement sémitique de *a* (cf. Winckler, *Textes*, K. 4463, bit *idkiti* = bit *akiti*) *is* = *kis* ce qui nous donne un mot *akisû*. Del., *H.W.*, p. 58, nous apprend que 𐎧𐎢𐎶 = *ekesu* d'où il ressort qu'il y a un *akasu* = voir en assyrien ; si *ekesu* est un substantif, il se rapporte à l'œil ou à la vue. *Paquû* = voir, d'où *piqa*,



*piqama*, (cf. § 2 de ces Notes) = “ersichtlich ;” *paqat*, *piqat*, de *paqû* ; *ra’u* = *רָאָה*, “voir” ; exemples suffisants pour montrer que l’on peut sans l’aide du sumérisme enrichir le dictionnaire assyrien. Tout n’est pas clair sans doute, c’est ainsi que dans la colonne gauche nous avons seulement dégagé le premier élément *akiş* que nous avons ramené au thème *akaşu* ; quant au second *aka* il a son importance, mais je ne saurais encore en établir la fonction. Faut-il lire *akişaka* = *akişakku* (Del., *Grammat.*, § 65, No. 39), doué de la vue ; je préfère m’abstenir de toute explication.

§ 5.   = *ša-dan* = pluriel en *ân* \* d’un mot *šadu* = les seins, la poitrine = araméen *ܫܕܢܝܢ* = hébreu *שְׁדִים* = *שֵׁדִי*. La valeur *dan* du signe  est démontrée par V. R., 21, I, obverse, l. 5 et 6, ou nous avons *SA. DAN* = *rapadu* ; *SA. AD. DAN* = *ši-da-nu*, noms de maladies ainsi que l. 3 *samanu*, l. 4 *sakbanu*, l. 7 *šaššaṭu*, l. 8 *maškadu*, l. 9 *šu’u* ; *šidanu* n’a rien à voir avec le mot *šidanu* = filet ; ici il s’agit bien d’une maladie peut-être celle du *sadan* = poitrine, seins ; nous voyons ainsi que la colonne de gauche se passe fort bien d’expressions sumériennes. II R 21, 19 c.d. nous apprend que    correspond à *irrum saḫiruti*, qui n’est autre que la transcription de l’idéogramme par voie d’analyse,   = *ir* = *irru* = *girbu*. Je crois que le sens précis de *šadan* = *irrum saḫiruti*, est “*poumon*,” “*les poumons*,” et parfois dans un sens plus général “*poitrine*.” Brünnow, No. 3077, est à lire *šadnu* ou *sadnu*. On sait que  et  n’ont été peut-être à l’origine qu’un seul signe, comme l’indique leur syllabe commune *sa* ou *ša*. Ces petites constatations ne sont point favorables à la théorie sumérienne.   est des plus fréquents dans les présages et trouvera sa place dans le glossaire que je prépare. Nous connaissions déjà un nom de pierre *šadānu*, Del., *H. W.*, p. 644 = “*hématite* ;” Tiglat-Piléser en fit venir beaucoup du Naïri. Voir Payne Smith, p. 4069.

§ 6. Un des critiques de l’*O.L.Z.* (15 Avril, 1899, p. 114), a parlé de mon mémoire sur les tablettes de Boghaz-keui avec une franchise qui l’honore ; je l’en remercie. Je sacrifie sans arrière pensée l’introduction que j’ai écrite sans conviction, peu après mon retour d’Asie-Mineure. La publication de ces textes a subi des

\* Je crois en réalité que c’est un *duel*, à moins qu’il faille admettre qu’il y ait en Assyrien un mot *šadanu* (substantif singulier) = poitrine, les seins, explication moins hasardée que celle que j’ai proposée. Dans une lettre de Beyrouth el Amarna, L. No. 26 se trouve ce même mot *tadu*.

retards de deux ou trois ans ; si j'avais su que mon mémoire ne devait paraître que dans un avenir, qui reculait indéfiniment je l'aurais refait et peut-être me serais-je abstenu de faire une introduction. Celle que j'ai eu le malheur d'écrire, renferme de graves erreurs au point de vue chronologique ; mais puisque M. Messerschmidt ne nous apprend rien touchant la date des tablettes de Boghaz-keui, avouons tout simplement que nous n'en savons rien. Je maintiens tout ce que j'ai dit de l'écriture, du style de ces documents, et je crois que là était le point intéressant et vraiment nouveau ; car jamais jusqu'alors on n'avait découvert dans cette partie de l'Asie-Mineure des tablettes du genre de celles d'el Amarna ; il y a quelques années me trouvant dans le cabinet de travail de feu M. Ménant, il me montra quelques-uns de ces documents que M. Chantre avait rapportés de son premier voyage ; mon étonnement fut grand lorsque je vis qu'ils étaient rédigés dans les mêmes caractères que ceux qui avaient été mis au jour en Egypte, et ma curiosité fut encore augmentée en apprenant qu'ils avaient été ramassés par hasard sur la haute citadelle de Boghaz-keui. Je n'hésitais pas à me joindre à la seconde mission Chantre et c'est ainsi que s'explique ma collaboration aux travaux de l'expédition. Pour ce qui concerne l'arrangement des planches dans le volume \* publié sous la direction de M. Chantre, je regrette qu'il présente des lacunes ; je n'en suis pas responsable ; dans la planche IV le No. 1 est placé à l'envers, c'est un petit malheur. J'ai mal lu le signe *gis* + *ut*, je me suis trompé peut-être en lisant *šarru* + *du* = *šarru kēnu* au lieu de *šarru* + *uš*, mais j'ai été induit en erreur par le texte autographié, p. 55, No. 9, où le signe *du* se trouve en effet et est bien rendu par *kēnu*. J'appelle de tous mes vœux une collation nouvelle, je souhaite que celui qui nous en fera cadeau, reconnaisse d'une manière courtoise, que la tablette des villes n'est point aisée à déchiffrer et, si c'était M. Messerschmidt je lui réitérerai mes remerciements. M. Sayce a découvert des analogies entre la tablette d'Arşapi et celles de Boghaz-keui. Je lui rappellerai que dans un petit mémoire lu le 23 Août, 1895, à l'Académie des inscriptions par M. Ménant, je disais, p. 358 : "Quelques-unes (de ces tablettes) . . . sont écrites dans une langue étrangère, peut-être celle d'Arşapi?" . . M. Sayce et M. Messerschmidt n'ont pas eu connaissance de ce premier travail, paru il y a cinq ans, rempli

\* Mission en Cappadoce par Ernest Chantre, Paris, Leroux, 1898.

de fautes d'impression, dont je n'ai pas moi-même pu corriger les épreuves ; je ne leur en fais aucun reproche.

A cette époque j'avais bien lu le signe *giš + ut*, comme le prouve la lecture *A-li-is-tu*, *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie*, 1895, p. 350, l. 17. Il me reste enfin à exprimer le regret que plusieurs tablettes fausses aient été reproduites dans les mémoires de la Mission Chantre, je n'y suis pour rien. Ce sont tous les Nos. de la Pl. XXI, à l'exception du No. 2, et Pl. XXII, les Nos. 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5. Les Nos. 4a et 4b ont quelques signes qui ressemblent vaguement au hittite ou au chypriote. Le No. 5 porte une empreinte de cachet authentique autant qu'il m'en souvient, mais les caractères bizarres sont l'œuvre d'un faussaire, qui inonde Césarée de Cappadoce de ses produits. J'ai tenu à faire une enquête personnelle sur ces tablettes fausses, j'en possède une collection qui a été achetée à Césarée de Cappadoce et je mets en garde les voyageurs inexpérimentés contre les fabricants de ces objets. Les tablettes cunéiformes qu'on trouve en Asie-Mineure peuvent se diviser en deux groupes :

(a) Le groupe Ptérien, qui comprend celles de Boghaz-keui (caractères d'El Amarna).

(b) Le groupe Cappadocien, qui renferme celles de Golenischeff et celles publiées par Scheil dans la Mission Chantre, p. 93, 94, 95, 96, etc. ; deux ont été publiées par moi dans les *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie*, 1895, pp. 359 et 360.

#### TABLETTE DES VILLES.

##### *Traduction et Transcription.*

1. [Ville de] . . . . . ?\*-ia IL . . . . .
2. [Ville de] . . . . . ?-li-ia IL ville de . . . . .
3. [Ville de] . . . . . ?-aš-pu-na-a IL ville de . . . . .
4. [Ville de] ?-šib-ba-ri-ia IL ville de Zi-iz . . . . .
5. Ville de Ib-bu-ri-ia IL ville de Bur-ga-bu . . . . .
6. Ville de Ki-iš-mi-it-ta IL ville de Ḫa-az-zu-mi . . . . .
7. Ville de Ba-ru-uš-ta-na-a IL ville de Šu-rum-ta-a IL
8. Ville de Ḫu-?-at-ra IL ville de Ba-ti-il-at-[ra ?]
9. Ville de Ba-ti-iq(gal)-is-tu IL ville de Ḫal-at-bi-ia IL
10. Ville de Ti-in-tu-u-ni-ia IL ville de Za-ra-rum(aš)-is-tu-ni-ia

11. Ville de Za-ar-kab-la-na IL ville de Ḫa-am-mu-ḫi-ia IL  
 12. Ville de Zi-ta-ak-bi-iš-ši-ia IL ville de Ta-al-ga-mu-du \*  
 13. Ville de Ga-id-šu-ša-i IL qa-ti
- 
14. kit ? an šarru uš ville de A-ri-in-na-as ville de Ḫa-at-tu-ši-pa iz-zi  
 15. kur amêlu iṣ ḫat la ? li šir-ri ki-iš is-tu an ? a-i
- 
16. Ville de Ta-kit(lil)-aš-ia IL ville de Tu-u-ḫu-ub-bi-ia IL  
 17. Ville de A-li-is-tu IL ville de Zi-bi-iš-ḫu-na IL  
 19. Ville de Ḫa-am-mu-na-a IL ville de Ḫa-la-la-na-a IL

*Verso.*

Je n'en ai point fait de copie, que je puisse donner comme définitive, néanmoins j'ai pu lire ce qui suit :

1. . . . . ka-la . . . . .  
 2. Ville de . . . . . IL iz-zi kur amêlu iṣ ḫat šarru uš  
 3. . . . . at . . . a-an-bi mâtu E-iz-zi . . .
- 
4. Ville de . . . . . [ville de] Tu-u-ḫu-ub-bi-ia IL  
 5. Ville de Zi-iš . . . na-tab-ra . . . ville de . . . is-tu-mu IL  
 6. Ville de A-li. . . . .  
 7. Ville de A-ak-bi-mi-iš-ši-ia IL . . . . .  
 8. Ville de Iš-ta-ḫa-ra-al . . . . iz-zi-ia IL  
 9. Ville de . . . . it-ti-ia IL  
 10. . . . . ḫi-a pu-du(uš ?) qa-ti

Tels sont les mots que j'ai déchiffrés sur le verso. L. 6. Il serait tentant de lire A-li-is-tu, comme à la l. 17 du recto. Si j'ai dans mon second mémoire fait une transcription qui diffère en quelques endroits du texte, la raison en est, que ma copie ayant été reproduite très vite, après mon retour de voyage, mes lectures me paraissaient devoir être quelque peu modifiées dans la suite. Je ne désespère pas de pouvoir collationner un jour ces textes, mais il m'a paru utile cependant de présenter actuellement ces retouches motivées par la critique de Messerschmidt. La ville de *A-ri-in-na-as* a été identifiée par Sayce avec la ville de *Arenena* (Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 335) ; voir *O.L.Z.*, 1899, p. 382, et *Revue Sémitique*, 1899, p. 132. La ville de *Alistu*, l. 17, me paraît pouvoir être rapprochée de *Alastos*, ville de Phrygie, voir Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Vol. I, p. 321 ; d'après Ramsay cette ville serait fort

\* uš.

ancienne. Je m'abstiens d'autres rapprochements, mais je constate que plusieurs de ces villes doivent être cherchées en Asie-Mineure ou du côté de l'Arménie. M. Sayce regarde cette tablette comme renfermant la liste de plusieurs villes devant fournir du blé à un prince quelconque. Cette conjecture est fort ingénieuse mais comme nous ignorons la langue que recèlent ces briques, et que l'Arzavien ne nous est guère plus familier, nous attendons des preuves plus solides. Le texte No. 2 devra être collationné minutieusement comme ceux qui suivent; la transcription est purement provisoire; il n'en peut être autrement, ces documents étant écrits dans un idiome inconnu, auquel je n'ai pas le courage de donner un nom dans mon ignorance de l'hitite, arzavien, etc. Par ci par là quelques termes assyriens apparaissent, mais combien y-en-a-t-il? Quant au contenu je juge inutile de répéter ce que j'ai déjà dit ailleurs. Faut-il lire p. 49, col. B, l. 2, *hu na iš*, et l. 4, *ik ba kak ša ni na*? Page 50, col. A, l. 4, *li li iš* ou *še-e-li-iš*? L. 7, *uš ti iš* et non *du ti iš*; l. 10, *ta at ti is tu* et non *ta at ti ta*. No. 3, p. 51, lire l. 11, *e is tu bi e i*. No. 5, p. 53, titre mal placé, doit se trouver en tête du texte cunéiforme; l. 5, lisez *at a rum (aš) is tu ša ? pi*, etc., etc. No. 6, l. 9, *hu u pi rum (aš) is tu na*. No. 7, l. 10 et 12, *biran*, les visions, est conjectural, puisque nous avons affaire à une langue indéterminée. No. 8, l. 2, *eš is tu na*. No. 10, l. 6, *ta 3 bar*. No. 11, l. 2, *li iq tu ni*, l. 12, *ta a al*?

## PHœNICIAN INSCRIPTION AT GREENOCK.

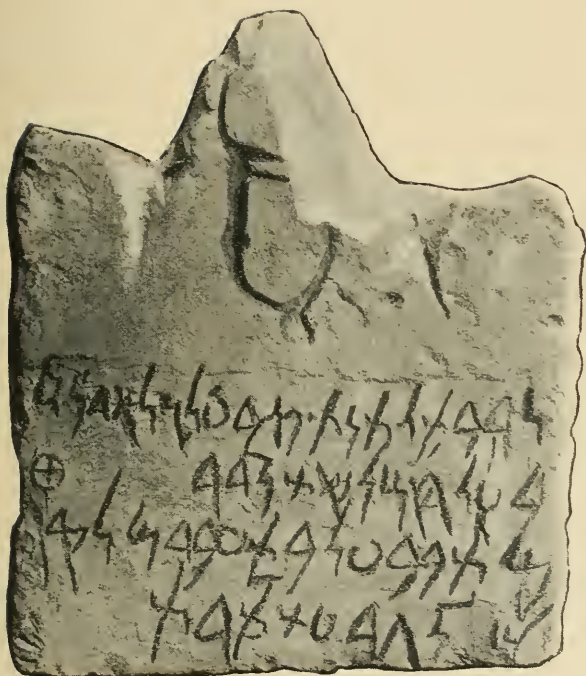
JOSEPH OFFORD.

This well preserved Phœnician inscription, which is in the Greenock Antiquarian Museum, contains a text almost identical with many similar ex votos, and is a close counterpart of No. 56 of the series of Carthaginian inscriptions in the Davis collection published by the British Museum.

The following translation is based upon that of Mr. George Greenlees of Glasgow.

"To the lady (to) Tanith, the Face of Baal, and to the Lord to Baal-Hamman that which is vowed (is by) Matanbaal, daughter of Ebed-Melkarth, son of Gad-Ashtoreth."

Perhaps the most interesting item of the text to our Society is



PHENICIAN INSCRIPTION IN THE ANTIQUARIAN MUSEUM, GREENOCK.





the title Pen Baal, because of its connection with the Biblical Peniel. The Punic 𐤒𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤋 has two or three variants as specially illustrated by M. P. Berger,\* who gives 𐤒𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤋, and 𐤒𐤍 𐤁𐤏𐤋; passing from Pen, or Pene, to Phanou-Baal, thus parallel to the Biblical Peniel, Penuel, and Phanuel (Φανουήλ of Luke ii, 36). The Rev. C. J. Ball has remarked that in some Punic texts the initial letter is 𐤁 B, reminding us of the Babylonian form Bunu for Punu, face.

In M. Berger's *Constantine Stele*, No. 18, we have again the name 𐤌𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤋, Matan-baal, of the Greenock text; compare Mataniah, 2 Kings xxiv, 17; and in the No. 56 Davis Stele we have Gad Saken, or Garsoken, a similar combination to the Gad-Ashtoreth of our text.

The name Ebed-Melkarth (compare Tel Amarna, Abdi Milki, and Ebed-Melech, Jeremiah xxxviii, 7, 8) is also in Gesenius' *Linguae Phœniciae Monumenta*, No. 177. Any onomasticon of Phœnician texts will give other analogies.†

As to Tanith, sometimes 𐤕𐤓𐤕, Tainit, and Greek ΤΑΙΝΤΙΑΔ, our Tanith Pen Baal, Mr. Greenlees suggests may not Tanith come from the feminine Anu, which would be An-t. I believe there are Hebrew analogies for a later interpolation of a preliminary letter T to such a word sound. We find the Canaanite city Beth-Anath, town of Anath worship (like Beth Chemosh or Beth Shemesh). In Jeremiah xi, 21, we have "image of Anath." Spiegelberg in the *Recueil*, XVI, 64, finds upon an Egyptian ostrakon B'n-'nti, "son of the goddess Anat," that is the Semitic 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤁; and the feminine form as name of a daughter of Ramses II is in a Turin papyrus.

The Persian Anahid, or Anaitis, appears connected with Tanith, but her worship as Tanith seems to have been introduced from the west, because Clement of Alexandria tells us "Artaxerxes, son of Darius Ochus, first appointed the worship of the Tanaic Aphrodite in Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and Sardis."

\* Les Inscriptions de "Constantine au Musée du Louvre," in *Actes du Onzième Congrès des Orientalists*, 4th Section, p. 273.

† Ebed-Melkarth occurs in No. 5 of the "Seven Punic Inscriptions" published by Prof. Wright in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1886, p. 212; and also in "Two Phœnician Inscriptions from Cyprus" in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1881, pp. 50 and 102. Schröder, in his "Selection of Phœnician Inscriptions," Pl. XV, gives a text naming "Ebed-melek."

EGYPTIAN MODELS OF FISH ; EGYPTIAN CAMP  
STOOL.

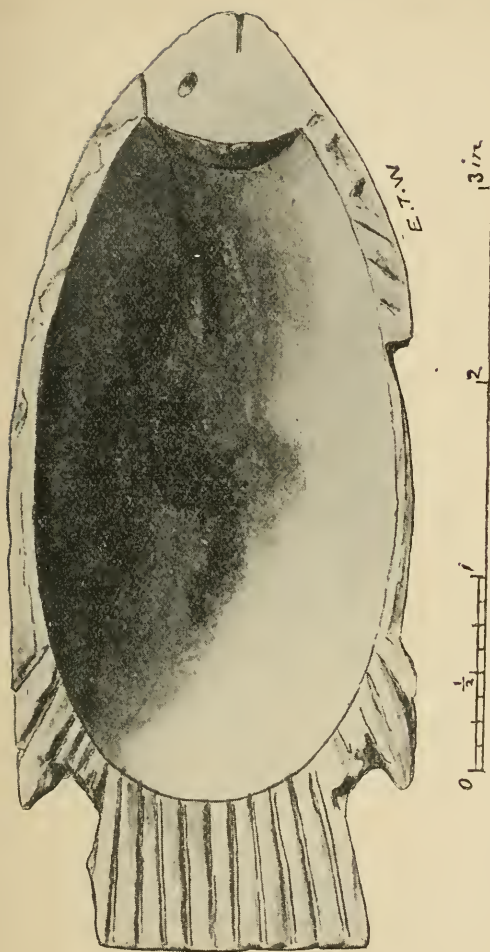
31, LANSDOWNE ROAD, S.W.,

Feb. 24th, 1900.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

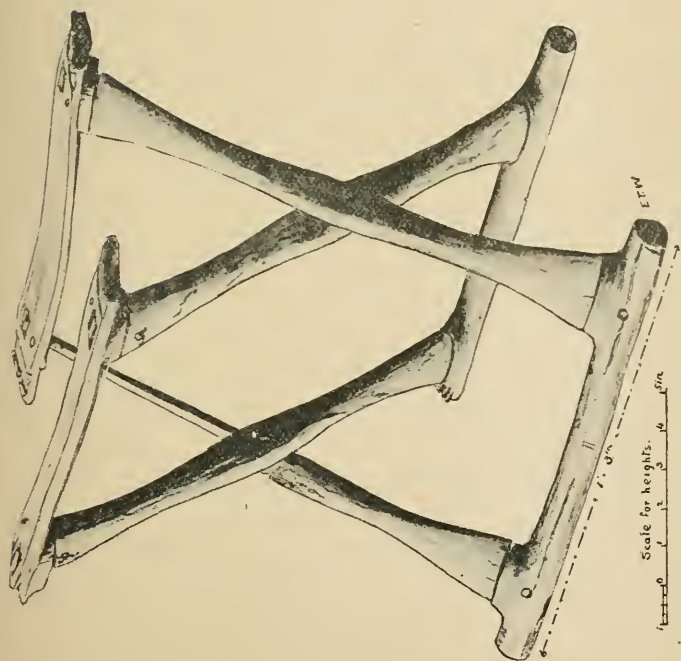
In reply to Mr. Nash's question in the December number of the *Proceedings*, as to the size of the opening at the base of my fish mummy-case, it is  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch long by  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch wide, as near as I can measure it. The fish that was inside was very small, not more than 3 inches long, I think, and without doubt was placed inside through this opening, after being wrapped in mummy cloth. The case itself is a casting.

As I am writing, I would like to draw attention to two of the fish illustrated by Mr. Nash in his beautiful photographs of "Egyptian Models of Fish," as I think they can hardly be considered Egyptian models, they are more likely Roman or perhaps Romano-Greek. One, No. 5, was No. 166 in the Forman sale catalogue; the other, No. 3, was No. 167 in the same catalogue, if I am not greatly mistaken. Unfortunately in neither case was there any indication of where they came from, nor does the Forman catalogue that was printed when the collection was at Callaly Castle, throw any light on the question. My recollection of them is that they were Roman. I see Mr. Boulenger is doubtful as to what fish is meant by No. 5, and I would suggest that both No. 4 and No. 5 cannot be intended for the same sort of fish, there is a marked difference in the form of the head and more especially of the mouth; and in the case of No. 3 there is much greater refinement in the modelling than is found, as far as I know, in Egyptian specimens, also Prof. Sayce says that he believes all the solid bronze fish models were found together in a stone coffer. I use the term "solid" in contradistinction to a mummy-case. No. 6 and No. 7 are typical specimens of that find; by referring to them you will see what a great difference in style and workmanship there is. I enclose a drawing of a wooden spoon or toilet tray in the form of a fish, in case you think it sufficiently interesting to add to

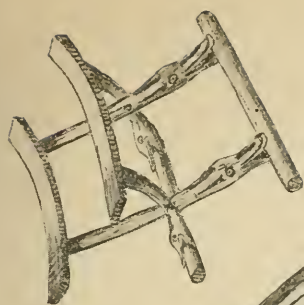


A WOODEN SPOON OR TOILET TRAY IN THE FORM OF A FISH, IN THE POSSESSION  
OF E. TOWRY WHYTE, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

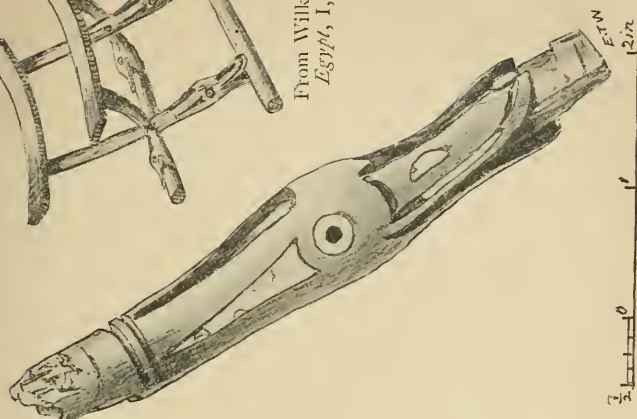




WOODEN STOOL FROM EGYPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF E. TOWRY WHYTE, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.



From Wilkinson's  
*Egypt*, I, 411.







the collection, it is made of acacia (?) wood. The inside of the bowl is stained with the ungent or dye that was put into it.

I have little to say about the drawing of the camp stool which you asked me for. It is made to fold up, the seat, now wanting, has been apparently sewn on and was probably canvas, the sides of which have been stout flat strips lapped round the top cross pieces, for which a groove in the wood has been cut, so as to prevent them projecting above the rest of the seat; these flat strips have also been sewn on, as there is no trace of peg holes by which it could have been fastened. As regards the construction of the stool, it is good, as extra strength has been given to the points where the greatest strain would naturally come, yet in such a way as not to add much weight to the frame. When folded up the height is 1 foot 5½ inches, and when open to sit upon was about 1 foot 2 inches, the material is acacia wood, and it came from Sakarah. I also add the foot of another stool in the form of a duck's head, it has been inlaid with ivory and ebony, some of the inlay still remains. It is well carved in very hard wood, one side of which is yellow, the other nearly black, probably an ebony, it is 5 inches long. By its side I have put a tracing, from Sir G. Wilkinson's "History of Egypt," of a stool in the British Museum which illustrates what part of the stool the duck's head came from, for convenience I have reversed this drawing.

I am, yours very truly,

E. TOWRY WHYTE.

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#### A WOODEN HANDLE FOR SMALL CYMBALS, FROM EGYPT.

BY W. L. NASH.

In the "Egyptian Musical Instrument," described by Mr. Whyte in the *Proceedings* of March, 1899, the elasticity of the metal provided sufficient "spring" to give a "to and fro" movement of the bronze straps, when the instrument was shaken. I send a photograph of a similar instrument very roughly made of a hard reddish-brown wood, found at Medinet Abou, or rather I should say, the halves of two such instruments, the two sticks not being of quite

the same length, one measuring  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in. and the other  $14\frac{1}{8}$  in. The material not being flexible, it was necessary to provide a spring, and this has been done by cutting a deep longitudinal notch on the inner side of each stick, thus leaving a thin tongue of wood projecting. No doubt the lower ends of the two sticks were loosely bound together. The cymbals are attached to the sticks by bronze loops.

These handles for cymbals are, I think, probably Coptic, and the remains of Coptic buildings at Medinet Abou, are a likely place in which to find them.

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### DRAWINGS BY SIR GARDNER WILKINSON.

THE VAUGHAN LIBRARY, HARROW,

*Feb. 15th, 1900.*

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

It has been suggested to me that archæologists might be interested to know the existence in Harrow School Library of a collection of sketches by the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson. I beg therefore to enclose an account of the collection on the chance that you may consider it worth publishing in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

I remain, yours truly,

B. P. LASCELLES,  
*Librarian, Harrow School.*

P.S.—The Arabic names are given as spelt by the artist.

#### CONTENTS OF SCRAP-BOOK CONTAINING SKETCHES BY SIR GARDNER WILKINSON.

The volume measures 21 inches by 16 inches, is lettered on the back "Saracenic Architecture."

Library press-mark, 11—A.

Contains copies of miscellaneous printed contributions of Sir G. Wilkinson to various archæological publications, annotated in his own hand.

Two of these papers are accompanied by illustrative drawings and plans, probably made for exhibition when the papers were read,



A WOODEN HANDLE FOR SMALL CYMBALS,  
FROM EGYPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF  
WALTER L. NASH, ESQ., F.S.A.



but which, as far as I know, have not yet been published. These illustrated papers are :—

I. On Saracenic Architecture. Read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 18th, 1861. The accompanying illustrations (mostly large sheets) consist of :—

1. Unfinished plan of Cairo, 1832.
2. Survey of Gebel Birket.
3. Sheet of sketches comprising a view of Cairo from the roof of the British Consulate; plan, elevation, and general sketch of pyramids at Gebel Birket; sketch of round arch before one of the pyramids of Gebel Birket; and several small sketches of arches.
4. Interior of Santa Sophia, Constantinople (enlarged from Fergusson). Interior of S. Vitali, Ravenna (wash drawing).
5. Interior of St. Mark's, Venice (after Borghesi, a wash drawing). Church of the Crusaders at Beyrut (coloured sketch).
6. Ground-plan, section, and sketch of Mosque of Amr; ground-plan of Mosque of Ahmed Ebn Tooloon (both from Coste); ground-plan of Mosque of El Hakim, Cairo; two ground-plans of Egyptian temples.
7. Brick arching in the Theatre of Taormina; sketch in Constantinople showing round and pent-roof arches.
8. Sketches of arches in the wall of the Mosque of Amr, and of the Red Convent.
9. Architectural elevation of the Nilometer, Isle of Roda, north side.
10. The same, south side.
11. The same, east side, "corrected from Kekeleyan Bey's last measurements of 1862."
12. Cufic inscriptions, with Arabic transliteration and English translation, from the Nilometer of Roda; sketch and MS. account of the minaret of the Mosque of Ahmed Ebn Tayloon, with copies of Cufic inscriptions.
13. Plan of the Nilometer.
14. Sketches of arches from the following places: Udine, near Tunis, the Palace of Saladin at Cairo, a water-wheel house in Kairawán.
15. Sketches of the Mosques of El Kaitbey and E'Sultan Berkook, Cairo.



16. Sketches of minarets of Giama-t-Emeer Kebéer and Giamat-Eenál, and of the Ghiralda, Seville (careful detail).
17. Sketch of Mosque of Naser Mohammed, Cairo.
18. Mosque of Soltan Hassan, Cairo, sketch and ground-plan.
- 19 and 20. Archways and details in the Great Mosque, Kairawán.

II. On Heads placed over Arches. Royal Institute of British Architects, May 18th, 1863.

Sketches illustrative of the paper :—

Archways at Peranzabuloe, Cornwall; Tidmarsh, Berks; Sta. Maria dei Faleri; Porto al' Arco, Volterra; On an Ashchest, Volterra; Tunis; Rimmimi; Earl's Barton; Arab Arch; Church tower, Rome; Perugia (two); Nismes.

---

## NOTE ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD.

A few years ago a Phœnician inscription found at Narnaka, in Cyprus, showed that the Phœnicians transferred the names of places on their Syrian shore to other lands. It speaks of a Cypriote as "Lord of Carmel," evidently referring to a mountaineer chief as lord of an eminence bearing the same title as the well known Carmel of Northern Palestine.

This duplication by Phœnician colonists of their local home names, becomes more interesting now, because in the long Carthaginian inscription containing the dedication of the temple of Astarte-Tanit, discovered in 1897, we find that the Carthaginians had an African Lebanon, counterpart of their Syrian one.

It is moreover possible they also had a Cypriote locality called Lebanon, for in the text upon the fragments of a bronze metal cup found in Cyprus, the text says that "it belonged to a Carthaginian citizen, servant of Hiram king of the Sidonians," and it mentions a "Baal Lebanon."

For this reason the cup was thought to have been an importation into Cyprus from Syria, but with our fresh evidence it is as reasonable to think the cup was of Carthaginian craftsmanship, brought to Cyprus from Africa by its owner; and its Baal-Lebanon site would then be a counterpart near Carthage of the "Tanit of Lebanon" in the new Astarte-Tanit temple text.

"Tanit-pen-Baal" has generally been considered as the Phœnicians' African duplicate of the deity of Baal-Hamman, so "Tanit of the (African) Lebanon" may be the counterpart of the (African) "Baal-Lebanon;" Lebanon, however, meaning "white mountain," the Cypriote cup may have been dedicated by its Carthaginian immigrant owner in Cyprus to a local Baal-Lebanon in the island, as it would be a suitable title for any snow covered summit, or mountain of white rock, in any Phœnician colony. Compare remarks of M. Philippe Berger, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. V, page 15. For the metal cup text see C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 238.

## THE WORD ARMAGEDDON.

GRAY'S INN,

19th May, 1900.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I see that in the April number of the *Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung*, Canon Cheyne again returns to this word, which he has already suggested in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (s.h.v.) is connected with the word Ὑεσεμιαδων, sometimes met with in magic spells of the early Christian centuries. Will you allow me to say that, so far as I know, the latter word always occurs in connection with epithets of Persephone, among which is *Eriš-ki-gal* (in Sumerian, "mistress of the lower world"), and that the context shows it is an epithet of Hades or Pluto? Thus, in the great Magic Papyrus of Paris we read (ll. 335-337 of Wessely), παρακατατιθεμαι υμιν τουτον τον καταδεσμον θεοις χθονιοις ὕεσεμιαδων και κουρη περσεφονη ερεσχιγαλ, in the B.M. Papyrus XLVI (ll. 424-426 of Kenyon) υεσεννιγαδων [an evident corruption] ορθω βαυβω [a common variant of Persephone in these documents] νοη οδηρε σοιρε σοιρε σανκανθαρα ερεσχιγαλ, and in the B.M. Papyrus CXXI (l. 681 of Kenyon), ενμιαδων ορθω βαυβω. κ.τ.λ. The lead tablet from Alexandria published by

Fr. Lenormant in his *De Tabulis Devotionis Plumbeis Alexandrinis* (Paris, 1853), which is, I think, the one quoted by Kuhnert in the *Rheinisches Museum* and referred to by Canon Cheyne, practically settles the matter by its reiterated invocation of Πλούτων Ὑεσεμυγᾶδων μααρχάμα καὶ Κόρη Ἐρεσχιγὰλ Ζαβαρβαθοῦχ καὶ Φερσεφὸνη Ζανδαχθουμάρ, along with other Chthonian gods and δαίμονες. I do not know whether the first syllable of the name (which seems from the last example given above to be detachable) can be connected with the cry of Ὑε κύνε, said by writers like Hippolytus and Proclus to be used in the Eleusinia; but that these last were instituted for the worship of the Chthonian or infernal gods, is now, of course, generally accepted. M. Halévy, in a communication lately made to the *Académie des Inscriptions*, said that he had discovered the original legend of the Rape of Persephone on a cuneiform tablet, and although I have seen no more of his discovery than a brief notice in the *Compte-Rendu*, it seems probable that when the word Ὑεσεμυγᾶδων comes to be explained, it will be found to have a Sumerian rather than a Semitic origin.

Very faithfully yours,

F. LEGGE.

P.S.—I should like to draw your attention to the likeness between Ζαβαρβαθοῦχ, the epithet of Kore given above, and the “god Sabarbathiot” of the Coptic Spell in *P.S.B.A.*, XIX, p. 185.

---

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 8th May, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

F. LEGGE: “The Slate Palettes from Hieraconpolis and elsewhere.”

PROF. PETRIE: Remarks.

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VOL. XXII. THIRTIETH SESSION.

APRIL. NO MEETING.

*Fourth Meeting, May 8th, 1900.*

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PROCEEDINGS  
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THIRTIETH SESSION, 1900.

---

*Fourth Meeting, 8th May, 1900.*

JOSEPH POLLARD, Esq. (*Member of Council*),

IN THE CHAIR.

---

The CHAIRMAN referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of LIEUT.-GENERAL PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., one of the early Members of the Society. Born 1820, died 4th May, 1900.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Trustees of the British Museum:—The Book of the Dead; facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher, and Netchemet, with supplementary text from the Papyrus of Nu. With transcripts, translations, etc. By E. A. Wallis Budge, Litt.D. Folio. London.

From the Author:—Dr. F. H. Weissbach. Zur lösung der Sumerischen Frage. Leipzig. 8vo. 1897.

From the Author:—Dr. F. H. Weissbach. Zur Serie Maḳlu. (Beiträge zur Assyryr.) Leipzig. 8vo. 1900.

——— Neue beiträge zur Kunde der Susischen Inschriften (Königl. Sächsischen Gesellsch. der Wissensch.) 8vo. Leipzig. 1894.

——— Die äthiopische übersetzung des Zacharias. von F. O. Kramer. Leipzig. 8vo. 1898.

From Miss Ingram:—Les plus anciens monuments de la langue Française. Par Eduard Koschwitz. Leipzig. 8vo. 1897.

From the Author:—The Rev. Cesare A. D. Cara, S.J. Della Stela del Foro, e della sua Iscrizione arcaica. (Civiltà Cattolica, Feb., Mar., and April.) 1900. 8vo. Rome.

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated in March :—

Rev. A. B. Sayce, Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting in June :—

Miss Colthurst, 47, Hill Street, Berkeley Square.

James Teakle Dennis, the University Club, Baltimore, U.S.A.

Charles Selkirk Hay (late District Judge, Kandy, Ceylon), Kandy Lodge, Wellington Road, Bournemouth.

A. Moret, Chargé de conférences d'antiquités Egyptiennes à l'École des Hautes Études, 114, Avenue de Wagram, Paris.

The following Papers were read :—

F. LEGGE. The Slate Palettes from Hieraconpolis and elsewhere.

PROF. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L. Some remarks on his recent discoveries at Abydos, and Note on a Carved Slate.

Remarks :—Dr. J. Hall Gladstone, F.R.S., Mr. W. Boscawen, the Secretary, and the Chairman.

Thanks were voted for these communications.

THE CARVED SLATES FROM HIERACONPOLIS  
AND ELSEWHERE.

BY F. LEGGE.

The seven sculptured slates here reproduced make up all the objects of this class of which I have been able to obtain communication, and which seem to have any evidential value. Besides these, I only know of the existence of two others. One of them is a small fragment of slate, on which are carved figures of warriors not unlike those on Plate II. This was purchased by M. Ary Renan at Beyrout, and is now, I believe, in the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre. A sketch of it appears in the *Révue Archéologique* for 1887,\* but there is no evidence directly connecting it with Egypt, and I have therefore thought it better to omit it. The other is also but a small fragment, and bears what seems to be a part of a ship and a bird thought to be an eagle. A woodcut of it is given in *Ægyptiaca*,† and is there commented on by Prof. Steindorff, the original being now in the Gizeh Museum. But the workmanship, as shown in the cut, is extremely poor, and seems to have no relation to that of the slates here given. It is also possibly of a much later period. I have to thank Prof. Flinders Petrie for kindly furnishing me with authentic photographs of the slates on Plates I and III, and Dr. Wallis Budge of the British Museum for allowing me to reproduce those on Plates II, V, and VI, as well as the ivories on Plate VIII. The slate shown on Plate II has already been published by M. Heuzey from a cast,‡ but the other objects from the British Museum appear here, I think, for the first time.

\* Troisième série, t. IX, p. 37, *sqq.*

† *Eine neue Art ägyptischer Kunst*. Festschrift für Georg Ebers, Leipzig, 1897, p. 124.

‡ *Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (Jan.-Feb., 1899), Quatrième série, t. XXVII, p. 61, *sqq.*

## DESCRIPTION OF THE SLATES.

*Plate I. Obverse.*

This, which in some sort forms the key to the rest, was discovered by Mr. Quibell in 1898 in "the lowest layers below the temple at Hieraconpolis,"\* and is now in the Gizeh Museum. It is about two feet high, the figures on it appearing in low relief, a remark which applies to all the slates in this series. At the top are two heads, apparently of the goddess Hathor,† between them being a rectangle, containing, above the usual false door (here very slightly indicated), the two signs of the catfish and chisel, which Prof. Max Müller reads *Narmer*, and Prof. Spiegelberg *Nar-menkh*. The scene on the next register has been interpreted by Prof. Naville,‡ by comparison with the part of the Palermo Stone which corresponds to the festivals of the dynasties before Snefru. On the extreme left or dexter side appears a rectangle, enclosing a sign which appears to be ,§ and which he conjectures may be the name of the temple or hall through which the procession next described passes. Below this is a personage bearing a pair of sandals in his left hand, and in his right a libation vase with a spout and handle. He has short hair covered by a close cap, and wears round his neck an object like the yoke or collar by which slaves are attached to the slave-pole.|| Round his waist is a cincture with a triangular apron and flowing pendants like those seen on the Libyans at

\* *A.Z.*, Bd. XXXVI (1898), p. 83.

† There is a slight difference between the two heads, which do not exactly resemble each other. On a vase from Cyprus, of which a sketch appears in *Rev. Arch. t. cit.*, pp. 78-79, palm trees, between which are two nondescript animals, are shown under a similar pair of heads. It may be possible that we have here the *βουκράνια* with which the two ends of the ridge-pole of a house were sometimes ornamented, in which case the heads of the Plate might be intended to convey that the scenes following took place in a temple of Hathor.

‡ *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XXI (1899), pp. 118, *sqq.*

§ So Piehl, *Sphinx*, III, p. 184. Prof. Naville suggests another sign (for which see Leps. *Denkm.*, II, p. 62), but Prof. Piehl's identification of the *ṭeb-t* sign with the box containing the king's *kā* agrees with the *kā*-rectangle carried by the corresponding personage in the procession in the Hathor-temple at Denderah (see Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, Pl. IX).

|| A similar object may be seen round the neck of the Libyan (?) in Rossellini, *Mon. Storici*, Pl. LX. It may perhaps be an early form of the *Tat* or buckle amulet studied by Maspero, *Mém. sur quelque Papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 1 *sq.*

Karnak. Above him is his title,\* no translation of which has yet been suggested.† Before him goes the king with short hair and beard, wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt. He is dressed in a tunic fastened over the left shoulder and leaving the right arm and side bare. Over this is a kilt without apparent opening, secured by a belt of some textile fabric, from which hang two pendants of the same material. From one of these depends an amulet or jewel made in the shape of a hawk. To the back of the belt is attached the tail generally found on later Egyptian representations of kings and gods, which in this instance seems to be a horse-tail set in some sort of holder or handle. He also wears greaves upon his legs of metal, or, more probably, of cloth. He bears in his right hand a scourge, and in his left a mace with apparently a metal head. Before him appear the cat-fish and chisel signs which evidently denote his personal name, and below this is a figure which Prof. Naville conjectures, I think rightly, to be his queen. She has long curled locks, but is otherwise bareheaded, and is clad in a woollen garment fitting closely to the figure. A sort of scarf with flowered ends appears round her neck, and her name is shown above her in the signs , which may read *thet*. Before her are borne four standards, on which are the emblems of Horus, of another hawk-god who may be Set or Thoth,‡ of Anubis, and of Khonsu. The bearers of the first three standards are bearded, but he of the Khonsu standard is beardless, while the Anubis standard-bearer has a scarf round his neck resembling that of the queen. They all wear short hair and close caps, while their kilts and greaves are, as well as can be seen, of the same shape as the king's. Beyond the standards is a door  which appears to be the *ā ur*, or "great door" mentioned in the early part of the Palermo Stone. By the side of this door is the bark  which is the usual determinative for a festival, surmounted by the  which should read *Shes Hor* ("attendant of Horus?") Below these are the corpses of ten captives arranged

\* Cf. the bow-bearer in Rosellini, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXIV, who also carries a pair of sandals like those on the slate.

† Except by Piehl (*ubi cit.*), who would read it   "to unveil the face."

‡ So Naville, *art. cit.* I can see no difference between the two standards, which may be those of the Nome of the Two Hawks in Upper Egypt.

in two rows, with their arms bound and their heads cut off and placed between their feet.\* The head of the first of the upper row (probably their leader or chief) is bare, and his feet are in a different position to those of the others. All the other corpses wear caps with a double peak. All are bearded.

In the next register are two composite monsters having the bodies and heads of lions,† or, as seems to me more likely, of panthers, but with extremely elongated and intertwined necks suggestive of the bodies of snakes.‡ They are secured by cords round the necks, held in both hands by two attendants with close cropped hair, with skull-caps of fur or wool, and dressed in a short loin cloth with a furred purse or bag in front, which Prof. Naville suggests answers the purpose of the *braguette* of the Middle Ages referred to by Rabelais.§

In the lowest register is the king represented as a bull standing on a plinth, and breaking into a town denoted by the usual crenelated cartouche, containing a sign not yet identified. He is trampling upon a flying enemy with long hair, and a cast of features resembling those of the Syrians at Karnak (Prince of Ganata in Petrie's Photographs, No. 37).|| He is naked except for a sheath like that worn at the present day by the Bantu tribes (Bechuanas, Kaffirs, &c.).¶

### *Reverse.*

We see here the same Hathor heads with the same *kâ*-rectangle between them, the false door being here unmistakably delineated.

\* Is this a human sacrifice? Cf. the oxen bound and decapitated lying at the king's feet as an offering to Isis in the Temple of Kalabché. (Bouriant, *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XX, p. 197.)

† So Quibell, art. *cit.* The tuft of hair at the end of the lion's tail is absent, nor does a lion carry his tail curled over his back. The lions' tails are drawn with perfect correctness in the next slate. Cf. the similar animal on the ivory in Brit. Mus. (*P.S.B.A.* (1888), X, p. 570.)

‡ Heuzey, art. *cit.* gives a Babylonian cylinder with similar animals in pairs, and with their necks similarly intertwined.

§ *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XXII, p. 68.

|| At Deir el-Bahari, the bull trampling on a prostrate human enemy appears as the regular way of expressing a royal triumph. Cf. *Egypt. Exploration Fund. Arch. Report*, pp. 1895-1896, *frontispiece*.

¶ Rätzels, *History of Mankind* (Eng. ed.), II, p. 397; Holden, *Past and Future of Kaffir Races*, p. 231. Not to be confounded with the *braguette* of Plates I & IV. It does not require a belt.



In the middle register we have the same slipper-bearer with his title above him, but this time standing on a plinth. Before him is a king wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt,\* and brandishing in his right hand the mace, while in his left he grasps by the hair an enemy kneeling before him in the usual attitude. He is dressed in the same tunic, kilt, horse-tail, and greaves as the king on the obverse, with whom he may be identical, though the features are not the same. He wears a somewhat more elaborate belt than the last-named, from which depend four broad pendants secured to the belt by Hathor heads like those on the top of the palette, and presumably of metal or ivory. Above the enemy is a composite sign or ideogram which Profs. Erman, Max Müller, and Naville agree in reading as denoting that the god Horus is bringing to the king 6,000 prisoners. The enemy is bearded with bare head and long hair, while he wears a narrow cincture to which is attached a *moocha*, or small bark apron like that worn by the Nyam-Nyam and other races of Central Africa. His name, denoted by the sign  , may be read *Shes-she* ("attendant of the lake?").

In the lowest register are two flying enemies with names denoted by the signs above them, of which I can offer no explanation. The one on the right or sinister side is circumcised.

Of the date of this monument I do not think there can be much doubt. The king, whom I have called *Narmer*, is now shown by Prof. Petrie's discoveries last winter to be one of those whose inscriptions are found in the royal necropolis of the First Dynasty at Abydos, and whom he has shown to be earlier in date than Usaphaidos or *Hesepiti*, the fifth king of the dynasty according to Manetho and the Abydos tablet.† The enemy over whom he is here shown to be triumphing appear to be Libyans, as are possibly the slave slipper-bearer and the attendants on the two tailed monsters. That in his time metal was freely used is shown by the use of the chisel sign. The king on the reverse of the slate may possibly be not Narmer, as the name, which is repeated in the case of the slipper-bearer, is not repeated in the case of his master, and the appearance of the rectangle containing the royal name at the top may only refer to the temple or festival instituted by Narmer.

\* The uræus, which appears on the cap of Den (or *Hesepiti*) in the Macgregor Tablet, is here absent.

† He has since stated his reasons for believing him to be the king either immediately before or immediately after Menes.



If this be so, the king here depicted is probably later than Narmer, and the more complete form of the false door in the rectangle may be intended to signify that Narmer is dead. The enemies in this case are also probably of different race to the one on the lowest register of the obverse.

*Plate II.*

This slate, which in many ways seems to be most closely connected with the last, is in three pieces, of which the upper part (distinguished on the Plate by a lighter colour than the others) is now in the Louvre, and is here represented by a cast. The other two pieces are now in the British Museum (Fourth Egyptian Room), so that only a small piece is missing from the entire slate, which, when complete, must have been more than two feet long. According to M. Maspero, it was once offered to him as coming from Abydos, which was very likely the spot at which it was originally buried. It is carved on one side only. As will be seen, it represents a race of bearded warriors ostensibly engaged in hunting. They wear the same kilt as the kings in the last slate,\* together with greaves and a tail set in a holder, which in their case appears to be the brush of a fox or jackal. They have no defensive armour for the head, but wear their own hair of sufficient length to reach the neck, and waved in a manner which rather suggests the Egyptian wig, while for ornament one or more feathers (apparently ostrich plumes) are stuck in the hair. The majority of them are armed with bows and crescent-headed arrows† with feathers on both sides of the shaft. Some carry long spears with bronze heads of an early type, others javelins, double-headed axes with metal blades, maces, a curved instrument with apparently a metal blade, and a weapon that may be a boomerang, while two have lassoes. Three bear standards, of which two are surmounted by a hawk, and the third may be an early form of the "Standard of the East."‡ Four of the warriors wear ovoid shields slung behind them. At the more pointed end of the slate is a lion transfixes by six arrows, and at the broader end another, with two arrows in his head and followed by a lioness, chasing one of the warriors who

\* This is entirely different from the later Egyptian loin-cloth, for the different varieties of which see Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XXI, p. 54 *sqq.*

† A favourite form for flint arrow-heads.

‡ Griffith, *Beni Hassan*, III, Pl. III, fig. 26. Details of the weapons kindly drawn by Mr. Rylands will be found on Pl. IX, *infra*.

has apparently just discharged his bow. On the edge, and rather outside the plan of the rest of the slate, is drawn a building consisting of a palisade with a door on one side, on the top of which is a dome or cupola, perhaps of straw-thatch, between two uprights.\* Beside this stands a monster consisting of the foreparts of two bulls joined together about the middle of the body.† In the middle of the slate are the lesser game, all running towards the end where the building is placed. They consist of a rabbit, or rather, from its size, the *fennec* or jerboa that M. Maspero supposes to have been the prototype of the Set animal,‡ three of the larger *cervidæ* (apparently hartebeests), one of which is lassoed and requires two or three men to hold it, an ostrich, a stag with branching horns, two jackals, and a gazelle. Bearing in mind that such a collection of animals is very unlikely to be found together, and that neither shields nor standards are usual equipments for the hunting-field, it seems improbable that this scene is meant to be taken as anything occurring in nature, and I suggest that it is an allegorical way of rendering the defeat by the kilted warriors of the various tribes typified by the animals here depicted.§ The fact that primitive peoples, such as the North American Indians, are in the habit of typifying both their own and other tribes under animal forms is too well known to need further reference.

This slate appears to be earlier than that of Plate I. Although the drawing is both freer and truer to nature, there is an almost total absence of all known hieroglyphs, while the work is not so highly finished as in the last named. It is to be noted that the eyes of all the animals have been bored out, apparently with a drill, and inlaid with some substance which may be glass.

### *Plate III. Obverse.*

This, which is perhaps the most curious and certainly the least Egyptian in appearance of the complete slates, was also found by

\* Cf. the Zulu or Kaffir kraal with stockade. Deniker, *Races of Man* (Eng. ed.), p. 167.

† Capart, *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XXII, pp. 108 *sqq.*, gives a possible reading of this sign, which may mean that the animals are retreating into the kraal, or are looking for a place of refuge.

‡ *Hist. ancienne de l'Orient classique*, I, p. 103.

§ Professor Petrie mentioned at the meeting that the strongest argument in favour of this view was, perhaps, the fact that on the slate in Pl. V all the assailants of the cities are actually represented as animals.

Mr. Quibell at Hieraconpolis on the same occasion and site as that of Plate I. It is smaller than the other, being about 15 inches high, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The top of the slate is formed by two animals that I believe to be dogs, with prick ears,\* fox-like muzzles, and bushy tails, who are standing on their hind legs in a constrained attitude and with their fore paws touching. Within the arch thus formed are two compound monsters of the same kind as those in Plate I, licking a kneeling animal which is either a goat or an antelope (*kudu*?) while immediately above them is an ostrich. In the spaces between the monsters' necks and the bellies of the dogs creep two smaller animals, without horns, but with peculiar, almost circular, ears, and a third bridges the space between the lowest part of the monsters' necks. In the lower part of the slate is a dog of another breed with a heavy mastiff-like head, pendant ears, and a collar, who is driving before him an oryx, an antelope (*Hippotragus major*?), and a third horned animal like the kneeling one above. Below this, again, are two similar dogs attacking a hartebeest, who seems to have broken back from the rest.

*Reverse.*

The top of the slate is again taken up by the same pair of dogs, while within the arch formed by their bodies are two well-drawn lions licking or playing with two horned animals who appear to be goats. Below this one of the compound monsters is biting the fore-leg of an oryx, while below this, again, a spotted panther is chasing a horned animal with a long tail, who is probably a ram. Then comes another of the ring-eared animals, followed by a hartebeest, while below this pair a griffin chases a bull. In the pointed lower end of the palette is a monkey with long ears and a strap round his waist playing a flute (?), a giraffe, and another antelope. On this slate also the eyes of the animals are drilled out for inlaying, while the heads of the dogs at the top are pierced with holes, as if this part of the slate were made separately, and fastened with "dowels" to the other.† Parity of reasoning would lead one to conclude that this, like that on Plate II, is a war-scene symbolically represented,

\* In the two principal figures on the top the ears make almost an equilateral triangle. All the ears on this slate are very oddly drawn, the tendency to round the points being noticeable even with animals like the lions and the giraffe.

† The treatment used with the heads of the lions over the "Lion Gate" of Mycenæ, who are posed in the same way (Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 33).

though it is a little surprising to find the bull, which we have before seen as a royal type, among the hunted rather than the hunters. The work is still rougher than that on Plate II, but the drawing is spirited. As the animals represented are treated in the same way as those on that plate, especially about the feet and legs, it may, perhaps, be taken as equal in point of age.

*Plate IV. Obverse.*

This fragment, which is of unknown provenance, is now in the Louvre.\* The top of the slate is occupied by the group of a bull trampling on a man, which is so carved that it presents the same appearance from each side of the slate, an artifice which may have been repeated in the slates on Plates I and III. The man, who has short curled hair and a curled beard like that of the human-headed bull of Assyria, has a peculiar profile, with thick nose and retreating chin. The only clothing he wears is the *braguette*, fastened to a narrow girdle.† Below this is a cord grasped by five hands attached to rods, the first four of which terminate in standards, bearing two jackals, a hawk, and an ibis, no doubt representing the gods Anubis, Aput, Horus, and Thoth respectively. The fifth rod, instead of a standard, bears the *tat* sign, or some object like a small cylinder, with four square nuts upon it, which M. Pierret, as quoted by M. Heuzey, assigns to the god Min.‡ Below this is a man's head of the same type as that of the bull's victim. The lower part of a human leg is to be indistinctly seen above it.

*Reverse.*

Although the fragment is here badly mutilated, it is clear that it once contained two rows of crenellated cartouches bearing the names of cities. Of the upper row only one is left to us, which shows an animal, perhaps a panther, with an urn, in front of him. In the register below this is a smaller cartouche—the diminution in size

\* From Prof. Sayce's remarks in *P.S.B.A.*, XX (1898), p. 99, it appears that this and the two slates next mentioned all come from Abydos.

† For details, see Naville, *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XXII, p. 4. As he there points out, an exactly similar *braguette* is worn by the man who is being trampled by a bull on the gold vase of Vaphio. For its use and name among the New Caledonians, see *Rev. d'Ethnog.* (1889), t. VII, p. 101.

‡ *Bull. Corr. Hellénique*, t. XVI (1892), p. 312. Steindorff (*Aegyptiaca*, p. 130) recognises in it the Min-emblem given by Prof. Petrie in *Koptos*, Pl. III.

shows, I think, that the slate tapered to a blunt point like the others—on which a bird something like an ibis is alone visible. Neither cartouche is, so far as can be seen, broken, and one is therefore led to conclude that these are the cities that helped the “Strong Bull” in his conquest of the foe, rather than, as on Plate I, those of the conquered. The cord in the obverse may possibly have some connection with the passage on the Palermo Stone, which, after recording the  (*Destruction of the Anu*) says : , which Prof. Naville reads, “Safekhabui stretches the white cord from the great door of the palace of the Divine Thrones.”\* The relative age of the fragment is very hard to guess. The drawing of the bull and man group, upon which much pains have been taken, does not lack spirit, and is superior to that of the corresponding group on Plate I, although it is treated in the same conventional way. On the other hand, the drawing of the animals in the cartouches is lamentably poor, and nearly as rough as the work on the bowl of King Den (for which see *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, p. 186). Altogether, I should think it might be earlier than Plate I, or more probably about the same date.

*Plate V. Obverse.*

This fragment, evidently the lower part of a slate shaped like the others is now in the Gizeh Museum. It is divided into four parts by horizontal bands, the upper one containing a procession of bulls, the second one of jackasses, and the third one of rams, while the fourth is occupied by the branches of trees, or rather shrubs. The fact that the animals are all male would seem to negative the conclusion that they represent the loot of captured towns, and points rather to the fact that they signify different classes of inhabitants.

*Reverse.*

Here are doubtless the cities out of which the inhabitants have come. Seven crenellated cartouches are given, and a band which divides them from the upper part of the slate, and above which the remains of human feet walking are just visible, shows that these were all that were originally on the slate.

\* *Rec. de Trav.*, t. XXI, p. 116.



The first contains a scarabæus displayed, the second two naked men in a wrestling attitude, the third an ibis-like bird, the fourth an owl, the fifth what appears to be the origin of the reed sign , the sixth a palisade with a thatched dome above it which suggests the more complete building on Plate II, and the seventh what Prof. Steindorff describes as the *kâ* sign  but which seems to have a sort of bar connecting the hands at the wrists.\* I have since wondered whether this is not also a plant sign. If hands, only three fingers and a thumb are shown. On the top of each of the last five cartouches (and no doubt on the others if the mutilation of the tablet did not prevent their appearance) an animal is standing and wielding a pick with which he is breaking into the city, the result of his efforts being seen by the loose bricks with which the interior of the cartouche is filled. Thus, above the owl-city is perched a hawk, above the reed-city two hawks on standards, above the house-city a scorpion, and above the *kâ*-city a lion. As Professor Petrie has kindly promised a note on these cartouches and their significance, I will say nothing more about them here than that they seem—and in this I believe I have the support of Prof. Petrie—to show the partition of some part of Egypt among the different tribes of an invading people. I see nothing to differentiate the age of this slate in any way from that in Plate IV.

*Plate VI. Obverse.*

This, the most interesting as well as the most tantalising of the fragments, is now in the British Museum, and measures about twelve inches by ten. At the top is something that looks like a bundle of reeds standing on a circular mound of some plastic substance such as clay or mud. To the right of this is the lower part of the figure of a captive with his hands tied behind him and naked save for a narrow cincture and the Bantu sheath. He is apparently being impelled forward by a personage clad in a long straight garment reaching nearly to the feet. This garment has a border running down the opening and round the lower edge, while it is embroidered throughout with ornaments resembling eyes. Below this is the principal group, consisting of an enormous lion with his tail curled

\* Prof. Petrie tells me that in First Dynasty remains the *kâ* hands are often connected by a similar bar.

round his off hind leg (as in the sphinx or the sign ) biting into the entrails of a man lying on his back with his arms unbound. The back of the victim is arched as if in pain, while the foot of the captive above, apparently from the impetus with which he has been pushed forward, is treading on his breast. Behind the lion is a smaller man completely naked and uncircumcised, in the act of running away. Below these are seen the corpses of four others, one of whom has his hands tied behind him, being devoured by ravens, while a vulture, a hawk, and a large eagle are hastening to the feast. All four corpses wear the Bantu sheath, have woolly hair, thick noses, everted lips, and fairly long beards growing from the chin. The lion's victim and the fugitive are of the same race, which is plainly negro or "Hamite."\* The captive who is being thrust forward is a powerful man with well developed legs, but the others show the small waist, narrow hips, and thin legs of the Central African.

### *Reverse.*

This contains nothing but the stem of a palm-tree and the legs and lower parts of two animals standing one on each side of it, who are evidently giraffes. This would seem to show that the scene depicted is taking place in Upper Egypt, or rather in the Soudan, the giraffe not being found above the fifteenth degree of latitude. The utterly un-Egyptian dress of the personage who is forcing the bound captive to tread on the body of his comrade reminds one of the dress of the women of Tiryns.† The drawing throughout is remarkably free and good, much pains having been taken with the muscles, which show some knowledge of anatomy. The birds are apparently drawn from nature; although the feathers are conventionally treated, and the legs out of drawing, the different species are indicated with much skill and boldness. There is nothing to connect this slate with the others, but the giraffes are sufficient to show its African origin.‡

\* For the migrations of the negro populations of Africa and the probable origin of the Bantu race, see Deniker, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

† Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. XVII.

‡ While this paper was in proof, I learned from Prof. Petrie that another fragment of this slate which clearly connects it with the others is now in the Ashmolean Museum. I hope to be able to reproduce it in the next number of the *Proceedings*.



*Plate VII.*

Shows another fragment from the British Museum. On the obverse there must once have been a couchant animal with a short tail, probably a deer or a goat. At the bottom are two Egyptian geese facing each other, with their wings upraised. On the reverse is the remains of the same couchant animal as on the obverse.

## PURPOSE OF THE SLATES.

The purpose for which these slates were made seems to be indicated by the ring which appears in the greatest breadth of four of them, and which would, no doubt, appear in the other three were they complete. This is, I think, sufficiently shown by the way the whole composition of the picture is worked up to it. The most obvious theory is that they were trays or stands intended to be carried shoulder high (which would account for some being carved on both sides), and that the ring was intended to receive some top-heavy object such as the libation vase . But a glance at the slate in Plate II will show that this cannot have been the case. Here the ring, though perpendicular to the surface of the slate on the outside, is bevelled on the inner, so that anything placed within it would slip off directly the slate left the horizontal position. Mr. Quibell's theory, which is still adhered to by Prof. Petrie, is that this ring was intended to receive the green paint with which it is supposed the earliest Egyptians painted their faces, or perhaps only the parts round the eyes. In support of this there has been adduced the slate palettes found at Negadah,\* which show marks of having been used for the grinding of malachite and hæmatite. It is also in favour of this contention that the rings upon Plates I and II were evidently made to contain something, that on Plate I being hollowed out below the level of the rest of the groundwork, and that on Plate II being bevelled on the inner side, as has been said. But on the whole I am compelled to differ—though I do it with great reluctance—from Prof. Petrie, in supposing that this was paint. The rings on Plates III and VII are formed on the same plane as the groundwork in the carvings, being really made by a *filet saillant* (as M. Heuzey calls it), being left when the slate was cut down to the base of the

\* Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*. Plate L.

relief. They were therefore, in this case, put in from a decorative rather than from a utilitarian motive, although they no doubt had also some symbolical meaning. Looking at the fact that the composite monsters of the slates, all of which are represented on the ivories given in Plate VIII and in Vol. X of the *Proceedings*, are always associated with a sun-disk, and that the geese on Plate VII are shown on several monuments\* in the same attitude with regard to the disk as the birds on that slate, I see no reason to doubt that this ring here represents the sun. It is quite possible that in Plates I and II the significance of this was heightened by the introduction of some bright substance such as gold foil (which could be attached to the slate as in Mycenæ with the cement called *χρυσόκολλα*, without leaving marks of its use) or by a piece of glass, if, as seems likely, glass was then invented.† It should not be forgotten that Egyptian shields also carried a disk-like depression in the middle (perhaps with the same significance), and that some of these slates are of somewhat the same shape as the shields borne by the warriors on Plate II, of which they may possibly be a survival. Although the slates have no means of attachment, and could never have been used in actual warfare, they may, like the *ancilia* of Rome, have been preserved for ritual reasons, and the warlike scenes represented on them would seem more appropriate to an implement of war than to a receptacle for cosmetics.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

From all these facts, I conclude that the sculptures on these slates refer to battles which took place at, or perhaps before the establishment of the united monarchy under Menes, and that the conquered were the different natives—negroes, Libyans, and perhaps Bedouin—inhabiting the country before the coming of the dynastic Egyptians. That some of these aboriginal tribes were sufficiently civilized to have villages and even cities, is shown by the cartouches, although their inhabitants were evidently an easy prey to the conquerors, who drove them before them as the *carnivora* do the

\* Mariette, *Dendérah*, t. II, Pl. 86 c., t. III, Pl. 14 c.

† In this connection may be quoted Apuleius's description of the Isiac procession at Cenchreæ (*Met.*, cap. IX), where a body of priests preceded the goddess bearing mirrors *pone tergum reversis*. The worship of the Greek Isis is of course no precedent for the usages of early times, but that it showed many survivals of Egyptian practices is plain from the use of Nile water and the like.



PLATE I.

OBVERSE.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ORIGINAL IN THE GIZEH MUSEUM.



PLATE I.

REVERSE.









PLATE II.



FROM A CAST OF THE FRAGMENT IN THE LOUVRE



ORIGINAL FRAGMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.





PLATE III.

OBVERSE.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ORIGINAL IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.



PLATE III.

REVERSE.







PLATE IV.

OVERSE.



From the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*,  
t. xvi (1892).

PLATE IV.

REVERSE.







OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



From De Morgan, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Égypte*. Tome II.  
(Paris, Leroux, 1898.)





PLATE VI.

OBVERSE.



FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

REVERSE.

PLATE VI.

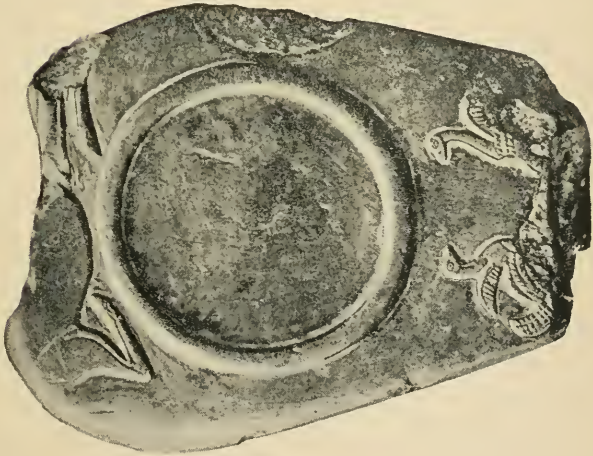




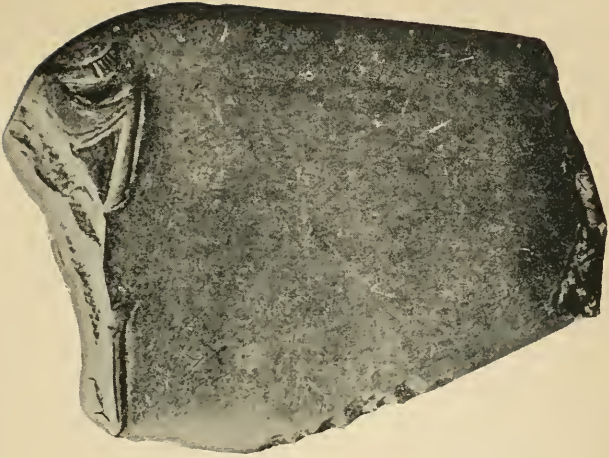


PLATE VII.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



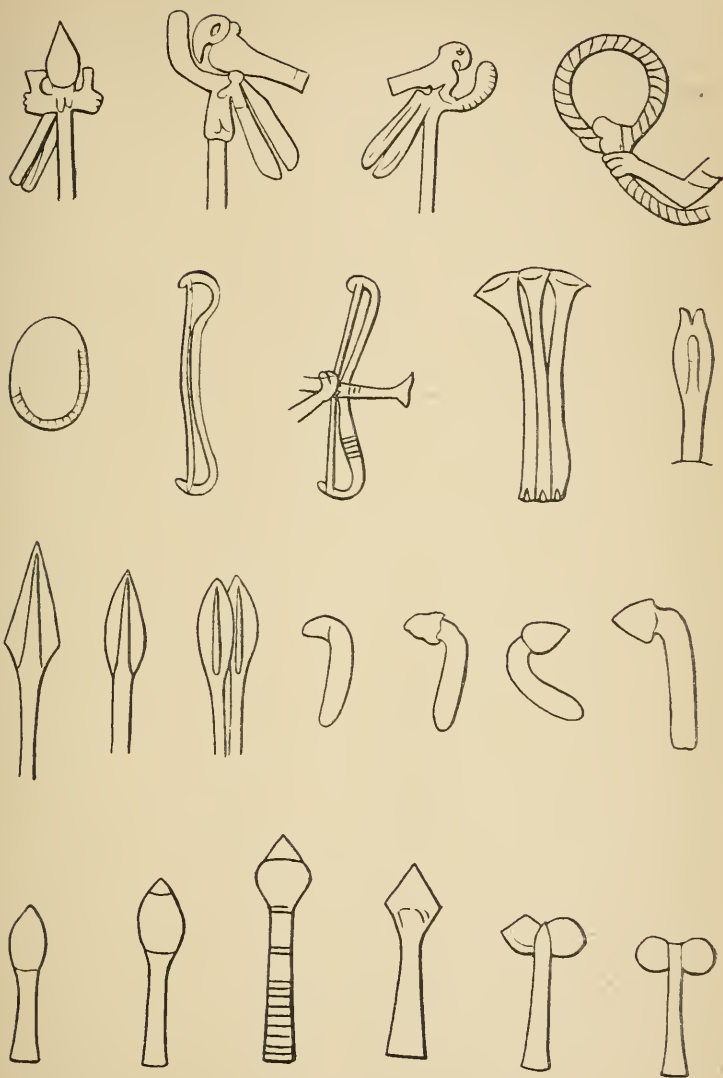


PLATE VIII.



IVORIES, FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, HALF REAL SIZE.

PLATE IX.



DETAILS OF WEAPONS ETC., ON THE SLATE OF PLATE II.





*bovidæ* and the *cervidæ*. That the conquerors were not natives of Egypt is shown, I think, by their weapons, the double-bladed axe being, so far as I know, peculiar to Asia Minor. Here its supposed "Lydian" or Carian name of *Λάβρυς* gave a title to the Zeus Labrandios who was worshipped down into Roman times. It was the distinctive weapon of the Amazons, who are generally placed in Lycia and Phrygia, where they are often associated with griffins resembling that on Plate III, and it formed the principal ornament on the coins of the island of Tenedos.\* The use of greaves is peculiar, I believe, to a mountain people, and would agree well with those Lydian or Carian mountaineers from whom, as is now generally believed, the *ἐκκρήμιδες Ἀχαιοί* derived their civilization, while the use of woollen clothing among the Greeks (as on these slates) is often attributed to the same source. That the conquerors who made these monuments had high artistic instincts and a knowledge of *technique* that argues a long practice of art is apparent from the objects themselves, which are immensely superior in this respect to any later Egyptian work. Everything therefore goes to show that these monuments are the work of invaders coming from Asia Minor, and probably of the same race as those who founded the civilization of the *Ægean*, and perhaps of the Western Mediterranean. That such a conquest is indicated by other facts in Egyptian archæology has, I believe, already been held probable by M. Maspero, Prof. Naville, and Prof. Petrie.

\* Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 252, *sqq.*

† I do not know whether it has been noticed that the two warriors on one of the Mycenæan vases wear long tails like those of the kings on these slates (Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Plate XIV).

## NOTE ON A CARVED SLATE.

BY W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

As the carved slate palettes of early Egypt are under discussion, it may be well to state a view of one of these (drawn here as Pl. V) which I have mentioned in lectures during past years. Each enclosure on the reverse of Pl. V contains a hieroglyph, and also some square blocks, which apparently represent fallen bricks, as on the lower part of the great slate of Narmer. Each enclosure has on the top of it an animal, such as is seen on the standards of the nomes or army corps, the hawk, lion, scorpion, and two hawks on standards. Each animal holds a pick, which it is driving into the wall of the enclosure. This seems to be an emblematic history of the conquest of seven Egyptian towns by various other tribes or towns whose emblems are figured as attacking them.

How far can these towns be identified in later history, and to what district does this refer? As each town has but one single hieroglyph, it is obviously a very simple form of the name. (1) The first contains an owl, perhaps connected with the town Mm, written with two owls, in the Fayum. (2) The second has a crested bird, which may well be the *bennu*, as the early forms of birds differ much from the later standard; in this we have Ha-bennu, the name of Hipponon, Heliopolis, and Tanis. (3) The third has two figures wrestling, which would well be the town of the combatants, Parehehui, west of the Oxyrhynkite canal. This would lead to identifying No. 2 with Hipponon. (4) The fourth has the *kheper* and mouth *r*: all of the kheper towns of later ages are in the south, Abydos, Denderah, Thebes and Edfu; so this can hardly be identified, as we seem to have to deal with northern and middle Egypt here. (5) The fifth has the *ka* arms. *Ha-ka* was near Tanis, and another in the Letopolite nome; also combinations of *Ha-ka-ptah* and *Ha-ka-sokar* at Memphis, and *Ha-ka-en-ra* in the Prosopite (IVth) nome. (6) The sixth has a primitive hut, a building of

reeds(?) with a domed roof of matting, like the modern Bisharin huts. This must have been some important public construction, for it to be used thus as the town emblem. The only later town called after a building is *Hebt*, Behbit in the Delta. (7) The seventh has a growing plant, probably the *su* sign. There were naturally several *Ha-suten* towns, as royal property. One is in the XVIIth name near Habennu, another in the Saïte name, and another in Xoïs. The last may have been so called later, as the seat of the XIVth Dynasty.

On the whole the upper line of four towns seem to belong to Middle Egypt, and the lower line of three towns to the Delta.

On another of these slates, Pl. II, is the sign of the foreparts of two oxen joined, and a hut building by it. This might refer to a sacred or royal building in the Libyan nome, as the canal there was named *Aqer*, written by this same sign.

Of course we can hardly expect to find all the names by which places were known to the earlier population transmitted by the language of later times; but the long survival of names, through five or six thousand years in the East, shews that we are justified in trying to track them through one or two thousand years earlier.

As the question of the use of these slates has been raised, it is well to remember that they are precisely of the forms of prehistoric slate palettes, which were used for grinding the face paint; and the cup hollow or ring space on each palette would be suited for holding the paint. As along with these carved slates were found great mace heads covered with fine carving, it is clear that ordinary daily objects were at that time developed into ceremonial show-pieces, and made the vehicle for historical records. The development of snuffboxes into gorgeous and artistic valuables in the last century, is on the same principle.



## EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS (III).

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

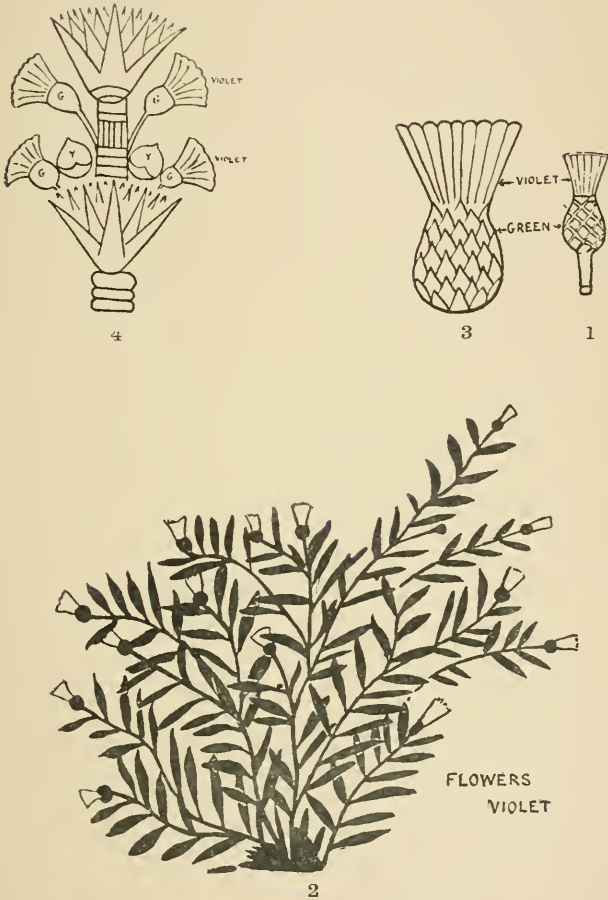
14. THE CORNFLOWER IN EGYPTIAN ART. Mr. Petrie has described (*Tell el Amarna*, pp. 28-30) a number of small moulded figures representing birds, flowers, fruits, &c., which were coated with coloured glaze and used, some for inlaying, others as pendants for hanging from bead necklaces, &c., for personal adornment; these interesting little objects of antiquity were discovered in the winter of 1891-2 among the ruins of the town of Akhut-aten (*Tell el Amarna*), founded by Akhenaten (Amenhetep IV). Since then I have formed a large collection of similar objects from the Palace of Amenhetep III at Thebes,\* a site which has during the past few years been ransacked by the Kurnawî Arab dealers in antiquities. Among the developments of vegetable forms occur beads derived from seeds, palmetos and rosettes from flowers; small models of fruits, such as bunches of grapes, persea and pomegranate fruits and dates (in various stages of development) are common; buds, petals, and sepals of flowers (as the lotus or water-lily) are also found as well as representations of different kinds of flowers. Among the latter a thistle-like flower (described by Wilkinson as a pine-apple,† by Petrie as a thistle)‡ appears to have been the most used for personal ornament. The colouring of this thistle-like flower is often very beautiful; one exquisite specimen that I possess has a carefully shaded calyx or "receptacle," and violet-blue flowerets (Pl. I, fig. 1). The identification of these

\* The site of this Palace was discovered by M. Grebaut in the winter of 1888-9, although the Arabs had been digging there for many years before. Some small antiquities were found among its ruins (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1889, Inventaire No. 28873) and several beautiful painted pavements were uncovered. Some of the latter (including one representing an Asiatic captive) were removed to Gizeh (cf. *Bulletin*, Inventaire Nos. 28840, 28922), but as no precautions were taken to preserve those that were left, they have unfortunately been broken up by the Arabs, and are now almost entirely destroyed.

† *The Egyptians in the time of the Pharaohs*, p. 87.

‡ *Tell el Amarna*, p. 30. *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 82.

PLATE I.



THE CORNFLOWER.





flower forms is a matter of some interest and perhaps worth recording.

The plant bearing these thistle-like flowers is, so far as is at present known, but twice represented in Ancient Egyptian paintings: \* first we find it on the painted pavement of the harim buildings of Akhenaten (*Tell el Amarna*, Pls. II-IV, pp. 12-14); secondly in a representation of a garden in the tomb of Apuÿ (*temp.* end of XVIIIth Dynasty) at Dêr el Medineh. In the former painting the plant is so naturally treated (Pl. I, fig. 2), that we have little difficulty in recognising the cornflower or blue-bottle. The plant, it will be seen, is herbaceous, with narrow and entire leaves arranged alternately on the stem; the flowers or flowerets are collected in dense heads upon a common receptacle surrounded by an involucre with teeth-like bracts (see especially fig. 3). In tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty at Thebes (*temp.* Thothmes III to Amenhetep III) these flowers sometimes appear in the garlands figured on the walls† (Pl. I, fig. 4), and cornflowers have actually been identified from among the funeral wreaths discovered in ancient tombs. In the Leyden Museum are preserved several garlands made of flowers of a species of centaurea and leaves of the mimusops;‡ Dr. Schweinfurth found similarly made garlands among those which once adorned the mummy of Nesi-khensu, discovered in the famous pit at Dêr el Bahari,§ and I have myself identified many cornflowers among the wreaths brought to light by Prof. Petrie from the Græco-

\* A representation of the flower with leaves occurs also on a broken glazed tile (*temp.* Akhenaten) in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney.

† For instance, in the unpublished tomb of the "Purveyor of Flowers" to the temple of Amen under Thothmes III. Fig. 4 is from a bouquet given by Prisse d'Avennes (*Hist. de l'Art Egyptien*, Vol. II, Pl. 62). Beautiful as the plates of this work are, the colouring is often, unfortunately, very inaccurate; several flowers which are really blue on the monument are given as scarlet (!) in the plate. The yellow ovoid fruits between the two lower cornflowers are doubtless Persea fruits (*cf.* my note on the Persea in last December's number of these *Proceedings*, p. 304).

‡ Dr. Pleyte kindly sent me a fragment of one of these garlands in 1888 for comparison with those found at Hawara. He has described them in his *La Couronne de la Justification* (*Trans. Congress Internat. des Orientalists à Leide*, 1884, *cf.* also Pleyte, *Bloemen en planten uit Oud-Egypte in het Museum te Leiden* ("Jaarvergadering der Nerd. botan. Vereeniging, Leide," 1882). Fragments of flowers of a species of *Centaurea* are also preserved in the Turin Museum.

§ Schweinfurth.  *Cf. Loret, La Flore Pharaonique*, p. 65, No. 106.

Roman cemetery at Hawara.\* It is a curious fact that the flowers found in these ancient wreaths do not belong to the common cornflower (*Centaurea Cyanus*, L.) which is met with in most of the cornfields of Europe, and occurs also in the Delta of Egypt, but to a species (*C. depressa*, Bieb.) which is now only found in Asia Minor, the Caucasus and neighbouring countries.† This species must have had a wider distribution in ancient times, unless, as there is some reason to suppose, it was introduced into Egypt along with certain cereals as a weed.‡ However that may be, we find it cultivated in the gardens at Thebes, and used as a garland flower in the XVIIIth and XXth Dynasties, and occurring again in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period.§ It is but reasonable, therefore, to suppose that as all the specimens of cornflower which have been found belong to the species *C. depressa*, and not to *C. Cyanus*, it is this species that is figured on the monuments, and represented in the little moulded forms.

15. THE POPPY IN EGYPTIAN ART. Side by side with the cornflower on the Tell el Amarna painted pavement is represented another herbaceous plant, with alternate pinnatifid leaves and scarlet flowers (Pl. II, fig. 1||): the treatment of this plant is so natural that we have very little difficulty in recognising the common poppy (*Papaver Rhoeas*, L.). Among the faïence bead pendants from the Palace of Amenhetep III and from Tell el Amarna occurs one which is petaloid in shape and coloured a bright red with a dark violet spot at the base (Pl. II, fig. 2); small faïence models of nearly the same shape, but with a black base and a row of small black spots arranged transversely across the centre, have also been found (Pl. II, fig. 3), but these are rarer than

\* *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoë*, pp. 48, 49.

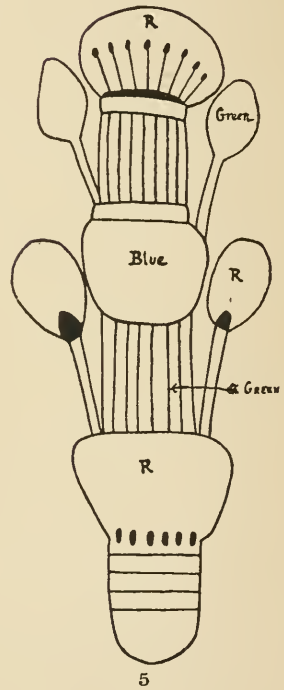
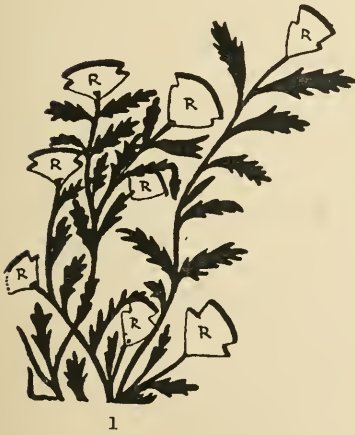
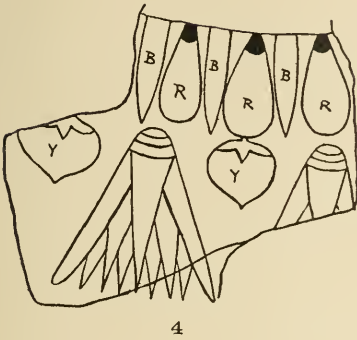
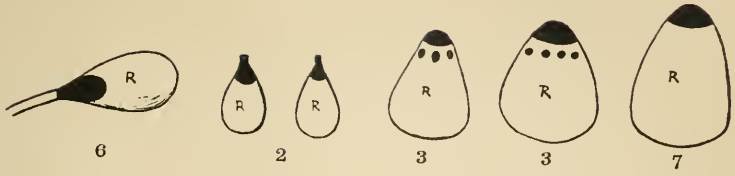
† *Index Kewensis*, Vol. I.

‡ A monograph on the subject of cornfield weeds would be a most valuable addition to the library of the anthropologist. I found seeds of the *C. depressa* occurring in a quantity of barley found at Hawara; it therefore must have been a weed growing in the first century B.C. in the cornfields of the Fayum. This little fact is but another link in the chain of evidence regarding the original home of one of the most important cereals. The evidence of philology, botany, and archæology all point to Mesopotamia and the valley of the Euphrates as the country from whence wheat originally came.

§ Newberry, *Report of British Association*, 1888, p. 712.

|| Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. III.

PLATE II.



THE POPPY.



the pendants, and were apparently used for inlaying.\* On two beautiful fragments of a painted pot† from the Palace of Amenhetep we see the same red petal with black claw figured with lotus flowers and persea fruits (Pl. II, fig. 4). In XVIIIth Dynasty tombs at Thebes similarly shaped and coloured petals are sometimes found represented in garlands, and in one tomb the small black spots represented on the petal are connected by vertical black lines with the black base (Pl. II, fig. 5): thus we see that the black spots represent the anthers, the vertical black lines the filaments connecting them with the base or "claw" of the petal. In the same garland we see the young flower buds with the caducous sepals still intact and beneath them, buds with the sepals fallen. A comparison of these model petals with those of the scarlet poppy leaves little doubt that we have here a representation of this attractive cornfield blossom. But there is other evidence which has to be taken into account: perfect flowers of the species have been identified by Dr. Schweinfurth from among the wreaths which were discovered with the mummy of Princess Nesi-khensu—the same wreaths, it will be noticed, in which that distinguished botanist found flower-heads of the cornflower.‡ The history of this plant in Egypt is no doubt identical with that of the cornflower, but it was already found in the cornfields of the Fayum as early as the XIIth Dynasty.§ In the time of Thothmes III it was cultivated in the gardens of Upper Egypt, for it is figured in the garlands represented in the mural paintings of the tomb of Nekht (*temp.* Thothmes III) at Kurneh.|| On a toilet-box¶ of about the same date (found at Thebes, and now preserved in the Louvre), buds of the poppy are represented together with lotus flowers: fig. 6, Pl. II, shows one of these buds with the caducous sepals wanting. Later, in the reigns of Amenhetep III and Akhenaten, we find

\* A fine set of model poppy petals used for inlaying may be seen in the British Museum.

† One fragment is in the collection of Dr. Spiegelberg, of Strassburg.

‡ It should be remarked, however, that Dr. Schweinfurth found the petals of these ancient specimens destitute of the black spot on the base or claw so characteristic of many varieties of the poppy.

§ *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 50.

|| Prisse's figure (*Histoire*, Vol. II, Pl. 67) is very inaccurate.

¶ Figured in Prisse, *Histoire*, Vol. II, Pl. 93. Cf. *Mon. Egyptien*, XLVIII. Poppy flowers appear to be represented on a painted vase in Prisse, *Histoire*, Vol. II, Pls. 81–82.

models of the petals among the bead pendants, &c., from those monarch's palaces at Thebes and Tell el Amarna; at the latter place occurs also a representation of the plant itself on the celebrated painted pavement.\* During the XIXth Dynasty no figure of the plant or flower occurs on the monuments, but blossoms of *P. rhoeas* var. *genuina*, as noticed above, have been identified by Dr. Schweinfurth in wreaths of the XXth Dynasty. Lastly we find petals of the plant in wreaths of the Graeco-Roman period at Hawara.† At the present day the common poppy is found nowhere in Upper Egypt (except under cultivation in a few gardens), and appears to be absent from the whole Nile Valley, but it is met with in abundance near Alexandria and on the Mediterranean coast as a weed in cornfields.

16. THE    *Nefu*, "ROOT OF THE *Cyperus esculentus*, L." The word *nefu* determined by , the generic determinative of plant names or vegetable products,‡ occurs in several hieroglyphic inscriptions, but its precise meaning has not yet been ascertained. I pointed out a year or more ago§ that as it is mentioned in a late inscription at Philæ, as a product of   *Mehi*, a district and town of Nubia to the south of Ibrim,|| and, further, as it formed part of the cargoes of various ships which accompanied a foreign expedition of Piankhÿ's from Nubia or the Soudân, it is probably some vegetable product peculiar to, or only growing luxuriantly in the Upper Nile regions. In the Piankhÿ inscription it is described as having been packed up in   *meru*, "bundles," and large numbers of such bundles are mentioned in the Great Harris Papyrus among the gifts of Rameses III to the temples of Egypt (65a, 7, 74, 5). A figure of some of these bundles is given in the tomb of

\* Plate II, fig. 1, from Petrie's *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. III.

† *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 47.

‡ The determinative  does not necessarily mean that the word signifies a plant-name, for in many cases it certainly signifies nothing more than vegetable product. It is true that names of fruits are generally determined by the ° sign, but in the case of names of roots, stems and leaves,  is often undoubtedly used. (Cf. Od. 9, 84, the esculent lotus is called *ἄνθρον ἔιδαρ*, but this does not mean the flower being eaten; it merely refers to the vegetable nature of the food.)

§ Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut*, p. 371-374.

|| Brugsch, *Lex., Suppl.*, p. 667.



Rekhmara at Thebes\* (see fig. 1). They are coloured brownish pink with red horizontal lines; they are wide in the centre, slender at the two ends, and tied round with reeds or rope. From the figure it might be thought that some kind of reed or grass was intended to be represented, but I suspect that we see here only the outer covering of the bundle, the *nefu*-plant or product being packed inside. In the Great Harris Papyrus (65a, 8, 74, 6) the *nefu* is also mentioned as having been presented in    *pessa*,† which may mean “baskets,” or perhaps “bags” or “sacks.” It must be

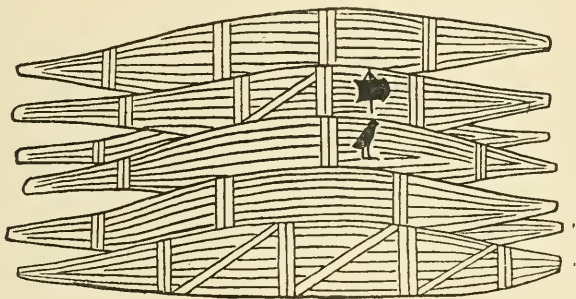


Fig. 1.

acknowledged that the above data for the identification of the *nefu* are very scanty, but it seems that the name itself is still preserved in Central and Northern Africa. An important vegetable product of the Soudan is the root of the edible *Cyperus* (*Cyperus esculentus*, L.) large quantities of which are consumed by the natives.‡ The name of this root among the Arabs of Egypt is *habb el aziz*, “the exquisite grain,” but in the Soudan it is generally known as the نفو *Nefu* or *Nufu*,§ a name which corresponds exactly with the   of the ancient inscriptions. Rhizomes of this plant have been found

\* Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pl. XIV.

† Brugsch (*Lex., Suppl.*, p. 484) translates, “Brette oder sonstige unterlage zur Aufnahme von Blumen.” In the Mut Piankhḥ inscription (*Temple of Mut*, p. 372) a word *pessa* is also found, but it is determined by  and not by , and consequently must mean some plant or vegetable product.

‡ Baith, *Travels in Africa*, 1851, June 7th, 1852, March 5th.

§ *Ibid.*



in ancient tombs at Thebes, and some from that locality are preserved in the Gizeh Museum;\* that they were used for eating purposes by the Ancient Egyptians is expressly stated by Theophrastus (*H.P.*, 4, 8, 12) and Pliny (*N.H.*, 21, 52 and 67, *cf.* Strabo, *G.*, xvii, 2, 2).

17. THE     *ṭab ank* (?) "STRING OF DRIED FIGS," IN ANCIENT LISTS OF OFFERINGS. In lists of offerings in early tombs the word     *ṭab*, "a fig," is sometimes followed by the sign of string  (Petrie, *Medûm*, Pl. XX, etc.), but I am not aware that any explanation has been given of this somewhat curious fact. In modern Egyptian village markets I have often noticed dried figs pierced through the centre and threaded by a string from eighteen to twenty-four inches in length, in which form they are sold for a piastre or so per *hubl*, "rope." This custom of threading dried figs is at the present day well nigh universal; I have noticed strings of dried figs (generally of inferior kind) offered for sale in Italy, Spain, France, and in England. Probably in this custom we have the explanation of the use of the sign  after the name of the fig, and we should therefore translate     by "string of dried figs." Conclusive evidence on this point, however, is given by a variant of the sign  which occurs in a list of offerings in the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan (I, xvii, list of offerings, 3rd division, No. 19, from the right); here we have the string with the figs on it actually represented (see fig. 2).



Fig. 2.

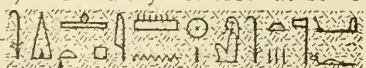
[P.S.—Since writing the above note I hear from Professor Petrie that he has this year discovered a number of figs in the tomb of King Den (*temp.* Ist Dynasty). These were found, to quote his own words, "*au rouleau* with a hole in them; very probably they were strung."] ]

18. A STATUE OF HAPU,† FATHER OF THOTHMES II<sup>ND</sup>'S VEZĪR HAPU-SENB. In the January number of these *Proceedings* (pp. 31–36) I gave an account of a statue of Hapu-senb, which is

\* Loret, *La Flore Pharaonique*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, 1892, p. 27.

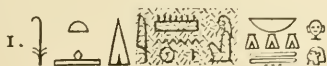
† This statue has been briefly described by Lanzoni (*Cat. Turin*, No. 3061).

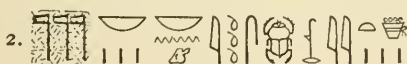
preserved in the Louvre. Since that note was written I have visited the Museum at Turin, and find that among the statues of that magnificent collection there is a figure in grey granite, about 3 feet 9 inches high, of Hapu-senb's father Hapu.\* This figure is represented standing, the arms hang down the sides with the hands flat upon the hips. The left leg is thrust forward; the feet are without sandals. A wig, falling to the shoulders, covers the ears and back part of the head. The chest is bare, but a long painted garment clothes the lower part of the body, and reaches close to the feet. Down the front of the garment is a vertical line of hieroglyphs giving the *Te hetep seten* formula to Amen-Ra, king of the gods, and the name of Hapu's son "who made to live his name," the high priest of Amen, Hapu-senb. The first half of the inscription has been erased by an official of Akhenaten, and faultily restored at some later period. The line reads:—



The back of the statue is supported by a slab of stone cut in the shape of a stela, and reaching to the same height as the figure. This is inscribed with eighteen horizontal lines of hieroglyphs giving the *Te hetep seten* formula to Amen-Ra for offerings at various stated festivals (the list is a very full one) for the benefit of the *Ka* of the  "third lector of Amen"  Hapu. The name of the son, Hapu-senb, occurs again in l. 17, and in l. 18 is given

the name of the sculptor, the  "subordinate(?) [of the Chancellor (?) the royal] scribe, first (?) divine treasurer of Amen"  Se-Amen. The inscription reads:—

1. 

2. 

\* The identification is certain: Hapu-senb is mentioned in his tomb at Kurneh as son of the "third lector of Amen, Hapu."



To the list of antiquities bearing the name of Hapu-senb (given on p. 36 of these *Proceedings*), may be added a funerary vase in the Turin Museum (Lanzoni, *Cat. Turin*, p. 447, No. 3304).

19. A STATUETTE OF MIN-NEKHT,\* SUPERINTENDENT OF THE GRANARIES UNDER THOTHMES III. In the Turin Museum is the lower part (about seven inches in height) of an interesting little

grey granite statuette of  Min-nekht, the  "Superintendent of the Granaries,"

whose cenotaph at Gebel Silsileh is dated in the reign of Thothmes III, and whose tomb is in the Sheikh Abdel Kurneh.† The figure was represented in a sitting posture with the legs crossed in front (in the same position as the celebrated seated scribe in the Louvre). The left hand holds a papyrus roll upon the left thigh, a page of it has been unrolled and is spread across the loin cloth of the figure and held down by the right hand upon the right thigh: this page is inscribed with seven vertical lines of hieroglyphs, reading:—



The first two lines are very remarkable; I do not know of any other instance of an official of lower rank than a  or "vezir," who is said to have "made laws or established rules," although, of course, with vezirs both expressions are common enough.‡ On the upper part of the pedestal or base upon which the figure is seated and immediately in front of the crossed legs is incised a rectangular

\* Briefly described by Lanzoni (*Cat. Turin*, No. 3027).

† I have given in Benson and Gourlay's *The Temple of Mut*, p. 321, a list of monuments in Egypt and in European museums which bear the name of this Min-nekht.

‡ E.g., the seated statue of the Vezir Amenhetep (*temp.* Amenhetep III) in the Gizeh Museum, cf. also my *Rekhmara*, Plate XIX.



[P.S.—Dr. Herbert Walker, who has kindly looked over the proofs of these notes, reminds me that a further proof in favour of  being a net occurs in my *El Bersheh*, I, pl. VII and p. 13, where  is used of “netting animals.”]

(b) The hieroglyphs  *kh* and  *seph*. Griffith (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 46–7) suggests that the alphabetic sign  *kh* represents a “ball of rush-work (?)” In the Old Kingdom it is sometimes coloured yellow,\* with horizontal reeding, but from the Middle Kingdom onwards, green with oblique reeding. I believe it to represent the sieve or bolter, with reed bottom, which was used for tossing up the grain that had not been fully separated from the chaff. (See scenes in L., D., II, 47, also II, 9 and 71.) I do not know of any ancient example of a reed-bottomed bolter having been found in Egypt, but it should be remembered that Pliny (*H.N.*, XVIII, 28, and XXI, 69) expressly mentions that the Egyptians used the rush for making “sieves, for which,” he says, “there can be nothing better.” In support of his supposition that the  represents a ball, Griffith points out that it may be connected with  *khikhi*, a word meaning “to toss up.” This equally well agrees with the idea of the sign representing a bolter. At the present day in Egypt, when the grain is yet mixed with the chaff, it is either laid down in small piles upon the ground in order that the lighter particles may be blown away by the passing breeze, or if the wind is not strong it is winnowed. This is effected by a fellah who tosses it up with a wooden winnowing shovel, or sometimes, though more rarely, with a bolter or sieve with rush bottom.† The heavy grains fall down in a heap, and the chaff floats away through the air. The grain is then taken up from the ground, removed to the granary and stored. Before the grain is served out to be ground, however, it always undergoes another winnowing, and this is invariably done with the sieve. The grain is tossed up in order that the chaff and

\* It should be noted that the reed signs, which are generally coloured green (, , , ), are at Meidûm coloured yellow.  represents the inflorescence of the reed *Arundo donax*, L.; a beautiful drawing of this plant is to be seen on the painted pavement at Tell el Amarna (Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. III).

† The vannus of the Romans (= Greek *λικνον*) was an instrument used for winnowing corn. Our only information with regard to its form is derived from the words of Servius, who calls it *cribrum areale*, from which we may conclude that it was a kind of sieve.



dust may be removed, and then shaken round, so that all the particles of earth and dirt come to the surface and may thus be easily picked out with the fingers.

It is possible that this sieve with the grains of wheat in it is the origin of the sign ☉ (for coloured examples see *Hieroglyphs*, figs. 32 and 87), but Griffith inclines to the belief that this latter sign represents "corn on the threshing floor" (*l.c.*, p. 27 and 67). It is worth remarking, however, that, as Griffith points out, ☉ is a word-sign for  $\overline{\square}^{\ast}\triangle$  which "often means 'what is spared' from destruction"—this sense can perhaps be more easily connected with the grain that remains in the sieve when chaff and dirt have been eliminated, than with the grain on the threshing floor.

(c) The hieroglyph . Borchardt (*A.Z.*, xxxv, p. 107) has figured an early example of this sign from an inscription in the museum of Gizeh, and correctly explains it as the instrument used by stone-borers for boring stone. An interesting picture of an artizan drilling out an alabaster vase with this instrument is given in the tomb of Rekhmara (fig. 4) and is conclusive evidence as to the origin of the sign.



Fig. 4.





## A MYTHOLOGICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL TEXT.

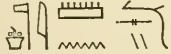
(Pap. Paris, Bibl. nat. nr. 173.)

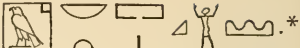
BY PROF. DR. A. WIEDEMANN.

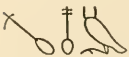
A vast series of the old Egyptian religious texts are those called by Devéria "Compositions mythologiques," written on papyrus and consisting mostly of pictures; with only relatively short explanations in linear-hieroglyphs. Its contents are closely connected with the *Todtenbuch*, chap. 148-50, which had already been greatly extended in Theban Manuscripts. But this was not the only material used but also other religious works, especially the *Âm-tuat*, in a supplementary way. Thus they contain the same ideas as the representations and inscriptions on the painted sarcophagi of the XXth to the XXVth dynasties, and nearly all of them belong to the same period. A close treatment of these mostly short texts has not yet been undertaken, though they possess a great interest as to the development of the Egyptian religion, and especially of the conception of the Other World's topography and the demons living there.\*

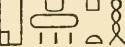
There is one text belonging to this series, containing some remarks upon earthly geography, well worth citing: it is Papyrus nr. 173 of the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris. This text shows at first to the left the cow of Hathor, the sun-disk with the two feathers of truth between the two horns, lifting the upper body out of the

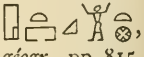
\* Also philologically the texts are not void of interest. Thus in the Pap.

Berlin 1466 of  the suffix of the third person plural is found written both times it occurs (each time behind the strengthened preposition ) instead of . Cf. the Coptic suffix COϣ, Stern, *Kopt. Gr.*, p. 169, and for CE 1 c., p. 47.

mountain of the West and defined as .\*

In front of her, but turned away, two rows of two superposed rudders are to be seen, an uræus-snake dangling in front, the Osiris-crown on the head, and behind each of them an ut'a-eye. The rudders are called  (once written ) , viz. , viz. , the local designation of the 4th is destroyed, but it was surely the east, so that we have here the four rudders known from the *Todtenbuch*, 148.†

To the right follows the principal picture in two registers, in which the pictures are arranged from right to left. In the first stands immediately on the right, of large size, the sign  covered with pinnacles, in it , the name of Heliopolis, with the epithet ornans, "the venerable." To this place a ship moves with red sails, the prow ornamented with a long covering. In the fore part stands , the inside red, covered with red balls, out of which black lines mount, forming thus a cup containing burning and smoking incense. Behind, a figure in long dress sits holding the rudder, the accompanying inscriptions read .‡ Then another pinnacled  follows, with the inscription  the name of Memphis. To this a ship sails

\* A   was situated in the tenth Upper-Egyptian nomos, a second corresponds to the actual Dakkeh, which was looked upon as one of the seats of Hathor of Philæ (Leps., D. IV, 74c). A   was in the oasis of the Natron lakes. Here one might rather expect to find a form like , one of the names of Denderah (*cf.* for these places Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, pp. 815, 599.).

† They appear also on stelas of the XVIIIth dynasty (Berlin, nr. 2066; publ. Leps. D. III 25 bis a). The whole representation is found in similar form often in these compositions, such p. ex. Pap. Berlin, 1458, 1459.

‡ Of the woman to whom this papyrus belonged, three other ones are in the *Bibliothèque nationale*: nr. 172, of which I treated the middle part in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1878, p. 103, and in de Morgan, *Origines*, II, p. 215; nr. 171, with a long invocation to different gods; nr. 170 giving principally a version of the weighing scene before Osiris. The four texts seem to have formed originally one papyrus, now divided. Of the place where it was found nothing is known.

myth



she remains at this division \* of Babylon ()”

(2)  (2) 

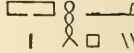
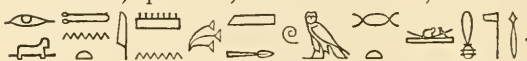
p. 141 *sq.*

† Wiedemann, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 89.

‡ Cf. for the town Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 625 *sq.*, and for its conjunction

(3)  (4) , that is to say, the beginning of the chapter of the heart. This picture of the heart plays especially in these compositions an important part; mostly—though not just here—it appears together with the picture of *bennu*—Phoenix.\*

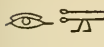
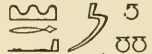
In the second register stands again to the left the pinnaced , this time with the inscription , "Busiris the great."† In the now following bark with red sail, whose prow shows the , while on the stern  is to be seen, the dead person  is sitting holding a rudder. In the forecastle of the ship stands as a gift . Then

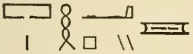
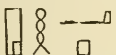
follows a pinnaced  with the inscription . In the approaching red-sailed bark, resembling the one in Naville, *Todtenbuch*, pl. 112, taken from Pe, the dead woman is sitting . In front a libation-vase with two jets of water stands as an offering. After follows the representation of a big libation-vase with one jet of water, which is closed by a cover rounded at the top. Behind it is to be seen , the ideogram of the god Sep, whose name is used as the ideogram for the 18th Upper-Egyptian Nomos, the eastern Oxyrynchites. As the texts show,‡ this god was a form of Horus, especially in his protective character, indicated here by the extended wings. Then follows, over one lying crocodile, another one lifting itself up in an oblique position and looking upon a pot with red contents. This latter group is found several times in these compositions, and also as the vignette for chap. 149 of the *Todtenbuch* (Naville, pl. 170, in the Turin-text there is an insignificant

\* Wiedemann, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1878, p. 102 sq.

† The translation of the town-name as Busiris is more probable than Mendes, though the spelling of the names of these two places is not always the same (cf. among others von Bergmann, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1880, p. 87 sqq.; Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, p. 19). To think of the canal of the 22nd supplementary nomos of Lower Egypt  is made impossible by the determinative of a town being used.

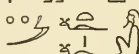
‡ Cf. Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 696 sqq. and Dümichen, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 197 sq., where the attempt to identify this Horus with Anubis is not satisfactory.

variant. On the pot is written , overhead the animal .\*) Finally the whole ends at the left with the largely written signs  and the smaller name underneath , the large mountain of the westland."† Following Maspero, *Études de myth.*, II, p. 313, *sqq.*, there existed four places called *mesent*, one in the south at Edfu, one in the north at T'alu, and the two of east and west at Heracleopolis. Here, where the god Sep is quoted in the immediate neighbourhood, the northern *mesent*, T'alu, will be meant.

 answers here to Nilopolis in the Heliopolitan Nomos, which later on sometimes governed the supplementary Nomos Nilopolites.‡ Its exact position has not yet been discovered, but it appears to have been situated in the immediate vicinity of Babylon.§ Its principal temple will have been that of the Nile,|| to which Ramses III gave large donations.¶ With it we might identify the , which following the Serapeum-stela 4246, was visited by the Apis.\*\*

The papyrus we have described teaches that the dead person had to sail to four localities to carry there offerings, the kind of which may have its reason in the different cults of these towns. The arrangement of the rudders appears to be connected with the

\* *Tb.* chap. cl. (Nav., p. 172, where )

is written near the corresponding pinnaced place. Cf. the god  (*Tb.* 17, l. 38, v. Bergmann, *Sarkophag des Panehemisis* I, p. 7 *sq.*).

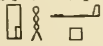
† Cf. "the very high mountain in the Underworld," *Tb.*, 149d.

‡ Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 484 *sq.*

§ *Stela Pianchi*, l. 117, quotes a prince Pa-bas, who reigned in Babylon and Nilopolis. Ramses III (*Great Pap.* Harris, Pl. 29, 7) says, "I made grand sacrifices in pa-Hāpi, the nine gods, the masters of Babylon, are in festival days," from which Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 627, guessed pa-Hāpi to be a part of Babylon.

|| Wiedemann, *Herodot's Zweites Buch*, p. 365.

¶ *Great Pap.* Harris, Pl. 29, 37, 54 *sqq.*

\*\* Cf. de Rougé, *Rev. égypt.*, IV, p. 108 *sqq.* "he (the Apis) went to Heliopolis (the nomos) being in the , which is there." Cf. Diodor., I, 85, about this sojourn of the Apis at Nilopolis.

situation, Heliopolis representing the South, Memphis the West, Busiris the North, Babylon the East. It is curious to note that Abydos, which used to be quoted with Busiris as the goal of the dead persons voyage (*p. ex.*, *Tb.*, 100, l. 1) is wanting in this list, though the name of the dead person points rather to a Theban origin than one of Lower-Egypt, where the four-named places are situated not very far from Memphis. \* We are here reminded of the unhappily very short notice of Diodorus I, 96, upon the death-voyage at Memphis with Charon's bark, over the Acherusian lake, and so on.\* In every case the text again shows how various the Egyptian views of the Other World were, and how differing the people's results as soon as they tried to build a plan of that world, in which man hoped or feared to arrive after death.

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### SOME IVORIES FROM ABYDOS.

17, COLLINGHAM GARDENS,

14th May, 1900.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In October last I acquired some interesting and curious antiquities which were said to have come from Abydos; amongst them are three ivory objects, presumably intended to represent oxen. As I have never so far had the opportunity of seeing any of a like form, it has occurred to me that as they are probably unique, and belong to the prehistoric period, I would send you some photographs of them, which have been kindly taken by my friend, Mr. W. L. Nash, F.S.A.

Figures of hippopotami have been found in some of the prehistoric sites in Egypt during the past two years, carved out of a red stone, possibly some form of jasper. Some of them have an excrescence upon the back, as these figures have, furnished with a notch, which I consider was for the purpose of attaching a thong to, in order to permit the objects being worn as amulets. I only put this theory forward as a suggestion, as I am unaware of any others having been found. (Their length is  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch.)

\* The boatings in the fields of Aalu (*Tb.*, chap. 110) belong to another system of mythological geography.





FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

CARVED IVORIES, IN THE COLLECTION OF F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR.S.A.



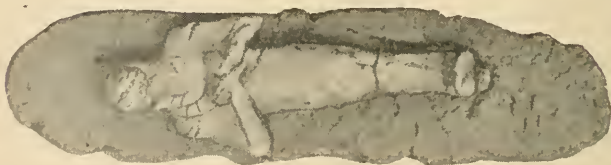




FIG. 4.



RECUMBENT FIGURE, IN THE COLLECTION OF F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR. S. A.



REAL SIZE.



RECUMBENT FIGURE, FROM SHÊKH ABD EL KÛRNAH, THEBES.

The other specimen I send you a photograph of is, if anything, more curious still, as it represents a human figure dressed in a long robe, with its arms crossed on its breast, reclining upon a boat-shaped object. I have no means of assigning it to any particular period, but suppose it to be very early.

It is made out of steatite of ivory colour, and is also stated to have been found at Abydos. L.  $3 \times \frac{5}{8}$  inch.

I am, dear Mr. Rylands,

Yours sincerely,

F. G. HILTON PRICE.

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I send a photograph of a very similar object to fig. 4. It is very roughly made of pottery, and was found at Shêkh 'abd el-Kûrnah at Thebes. I suggest that the objects are meant for Ushabti figures.

W. L. NASH.

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#### NOTES.

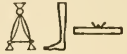
The German expedition to Babylonia under Dr. Koldewey has been excavating the mound called El-Qasr at Babylon, which proves to be the palace of Nebuchadrezzar in which Alexander the Great died. Among the antiquities found in it is a Hittite inscription, which has been published by the German "Orient-Gesellschaft," under the title of "Die hettische Inschrift gefunden in der Königsburg von Babylon am 22 August, 1899" (Hinrichs, Leipzig).

The American excavators at Niffer have been working at the mounds to the south-west of the temple of Bel. They turn out to have been the site of an early library. Already more than 16,000 cuneiform tablets have been discovered in them, ranged in rows on shelves of sunbaked clay, and belonging to about 2300 B.C. The contents of the library are multifarious, and include Sumerian vocabularies and classified lists of characters.

A. H. S.

## Πετρε = Νεμεσις.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

In late demotic we meet not uncommonly with a word  $\langle \text{V} \text{Z} \text{Z} \rangle$  *tb*, meaning "punish," "avenge," see II *Kh.*, II, 13, note.\* It is evidently connected with the Eg.  *db'*, "requite," the Coptic τωωδε, "requite," ετρε, "on account of," etc., compare I *Kh.*, IV, 20, note. We find also *p'* *tbe*, "vengeance," "the Avenger," e.g., *Leyden Mor.*, XXXIII, 9, the best instances however being in *Kufi*, XV, 2, 9, etc.: thus we read "Knowest thou not that the gryphon (*srrf*) is the image (?) of god, the king (?) of everything that is on earth, the Avenger whom no avenger punisheth (*p'* *Tbe nt e b 'r tbe [tbe]-f*)," *ib.*, II, 1, 2.

Professor Erman has drawn attention recently to a name Πετρε, which the great Coptic monk Shenûte says was the equivalent of *Kponos*, *Ä.Z.*, 95, 47, ZOEGER, p. 458. This name has hitherto baffled interpretation; but the connexion of *Kponos* with vengeance (on Uranus) and with the creation of the *Ἐρίννες*, suggests that Πετρε may perhaps be the above *p'* *Tbe*, "the Avenger."

This idea becomes a certainty when we turn to a passage quoted by LEPSIUS, in his *Chronologie*, p. 90, from the Byzantine author Achilles Tatius, writing in the 5th—6th century, and therefore little later than Shenûte, who flourished in the 5th century. Speaking of the planets he says:—

Ἀιγυπτίοις γὰρ καὶ Ἑλλησι τοῦ Κρόνου ὁ ἀστήρ, καὶ τοι ἡμαυρότατος ὢν, φαίνων λέγεται. ἀλλὰ πᾶρ Ἑλλησι μὲν κατὰ τὸ εὐφημον λέγεται οὕτω, παρὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις Νεμέσεως λέγεται ἀστήρ. δεῦτερος ὁ Διὸς καθ' Ἑλλήνας Φαέθων, κατὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίους Ὀσίριδος ἀστήρ. Thus Jupiter according to this authority was said by the Egyptians to be the star of Osiris, Saturn the star of Nemesis.

In the New Kingdom the planet Saturn was attributed to Horus (BR., *Thes.*, 65), but we do not find a deity for Jupiter. Nor do the Ptolemaic and Roman lists give the planet-deities. But Brugsch (*l.c.*, p. 71) has shown that the Ptolemaic Egyptian name of

\* The old and the new stories of Setne Khamuas I refer to as I *Kh.*, II *Kh.*, respectively.

the planet Jupiter, viz., *Hr-wp-š-d-t'wy*, *Hr-wp-šad-tauī* (with many variants of form and meaning, *Ⲫⲁⲣⲡⲓⲱⲧ* in *O. C. Horosc.*, V, 11), is actually attached as a title to Osiris in the very late temple of Denderah.

*Νεμεσις*, *Πετθε*, should correspond to Horus of the New Kingdom lists. The name of the planet in Egyptian is *Hr k' p.t*, "Horus bull of heaven," or *Hr-k'*, "Horus the bull." Horus is the avenger of his father, etc., and the slayer of Set, and so the character would suit. But possibly *Νεμεσις* really represents Set. In the New Kingdom lists Osiris and Set are the gods of the planets Venus and Mercury respectively. Evidently in later times this was quite changed.\* The dark malignant star *Kporos* might well be connected with Set in the last ages of Egyptian paganism. The name *dō* is found attached to Set in Græco-Roman hieroglyphic (BR., *Wth.*, *Suppl.*, 1361).

That *Kporos* was identified with Geb the father of Osiris in genealogical mythology, and in fact generally, is perhaps a matter to be kept distinct from his planetary character as *Νεμεσις*.†

## ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MODELS OF FISH.

BY W. L. NASH.

The Oxyrhynchus was one of the sacred fish of Ancient Egypt, and as such, was not used as an article of food, at all events in the nome in which it was more especially held sacred, called by the

\* At any rate in regard to Osiris = Venus, see above; and *Ⲫⲱⲗ* "Horus" in *B.M. Copt. Pap.*, 523, of CRUM'S *Catalogue*, would seem to stand for *Ⲫⲁⲣⲡⲓⲱⲧ*, Jupiter (*i.e.*, Osiris!), the other four planets being all represented by their Greek names, *ⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲗⲓⲧⲏ*, *ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲥ*, *ⲡⲕⲣⲓⲱⲧ*, *ⲫⲉⲣⲓⲱⲧ*. There are signs in Jupiter = Osiris = Horus of great confusion and inconsistency in adapting the old beliefs and names to the new astrology and philosophies.

† Professor E. A. Gardner comments as follows:—"An association of Kronos with the notion of vengeance or retribution is not unnatural, though direct evidence is hard to find. The cultus of Kronos in Greece is associated with primitive rites connected with agriculture and the growth of vegetation, and such rites, originally magic in character, frequently acquire a mystic meaning, implying moral or ceremonial impurity and retribution or reconciliation." See art. Kronos in ROSCHER'S *Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie*.



Greeks, the *Oxyrhynchite* nome. Wilkinson says he believes it to be the *Mizdeh* of Ancient Egypt. Its Arab name is *Chasm el benât*, for, like the other fish mentioned by the ancients, it still exists in the Nile. There are several varieties of the *Oxyrhynchus*. I give illustrations of the *Mormyrus caschive* (figs. 1 and 2). The *Mormyrus kannume* has a shorter dorsal fin; but I do not possess a model of it.

Replying to Prof. Sayce (*Proceedings*, Feb., 1900, p. 86) I must point out that Wilkinson's statement is, that the *Lepidotus* is the "Binny" of Ancient Egypt. But his statement, according to all authorities, would have been equally true if he had said *Modern* Egypt. Mr. Boulenger tells me that there is no doubt whatever that the *Barbus bynni* is the fish which the Arabs to this day call the Binny, and that the *Oxyrhynchus* is never so called. There can be no doubt about the fish that Wilkinson calls the *Oxyrhynchus*, I reproduce his woodcut.



The *Oxyrhynchus* fish, in bronze.-



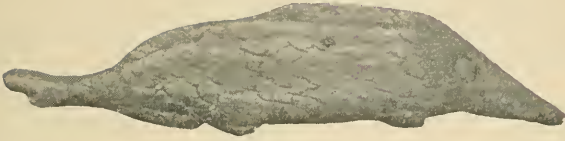
I did not know that the *Oxyrhynchus* was ever eaten. I have looked for it in the fish markets in all sorts

of towns in Egypt, but have never seen it offered for sale. Prof. Sayce does not say to what fish the Arab proverb he quotes, is applied; is it to the *Oxyrhynchus*?

With the kind permission of Mr. Boulenger, I give reduced reproductions of three of his large drawings from life of fish taken from the Nile. The *Barbus bynni* (fig. 3), is the fish which in Egypt is called the "Binny"; it is evidently the fish meant to be represented by the bronze model shown on Plate II, *Proceedings*, Dec., 1899, and it is this fish that Wilkinson called the *Lepidotus*, and says was the "Binny" of the ancient Egyptians. Figs. 4 and 5 are the *Oxyrhynchus*, which the models badly imitate.

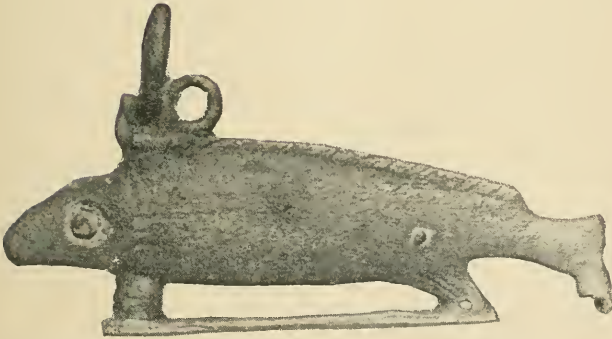
Replying to Mr. Whyte (*Proceedings*, March, 1900, p. 116), no doubt he is right in attributing the bottle-shaped model, fig. 5 (*Proceedings*, Dec., 1899), to Roman times, but I none the less think that it was made in Egypt, and is meant for a Bôlti. I have two very similar specimens, one in bronze, and one in pottery, which were found at Zagazig. With regard to the model of the *Barbus bynni*, fig. 3, I do not know where it came from, but I

FIG. 1.



MORMYRUS CASCHIVE, STEATITE, LENGTH  $3\frac{3}{4}$  IN.

FIG. 2.



MORMYRUS CASCHIVE, BRONZE, LENGTH 4 IN., IN THE COLLECTION OF  
F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR.S.A.





Fig. 4. OXYRHYNCHUS  
(*Mormyrus kannume*).

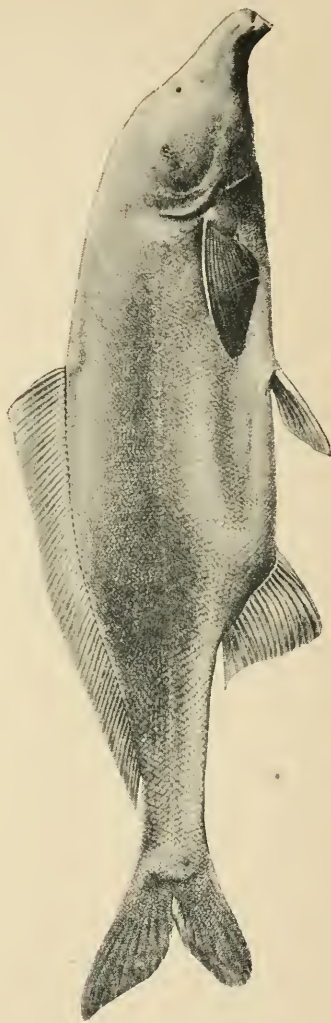


Fig. 5. OXYRHYNCHUS  
(*Mormyrus caschive*).

One-third size reproductions of drawings from life by G. A. BOULENGER, Esq., F.R.S.



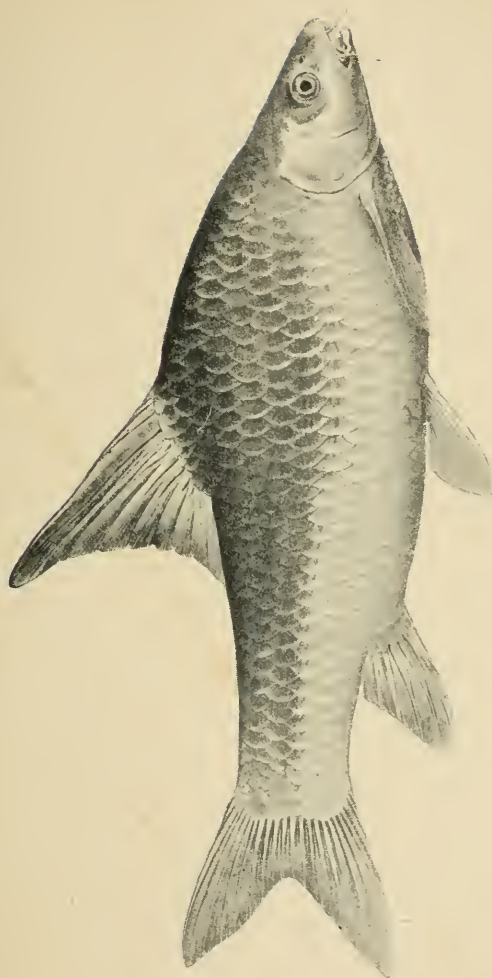


Fig. 3. *EARRUS BYNNI*.  
Half size reproduction of a drawing from life by G. A. BOULENGER, Esq., F.R.S





see no reason why it should not be ancient Egyptian. The ancient Egyptians could make very fine bronze models, see, for example, some of the Apis bulls. A few weeks ago I saw at Luxor an equally fine model of the *Barbus bynni* which was found at Edfû.

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### THE WORD ARMAGEDDON.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The facts relative to *Υεσεμυγᾶδων*, restated very fully by Mr. Legge in Part 3 of Vol. XXII of the *Proceedings*, are well known. I can add nothing relative to M. Halévy's reported discovery, which I only know from Vol. I of the *Revue sémitique*, edited by him. The question is, which gods were regarded as 'infernal gods' at the particular time to which the magic spells belong? Deities who were not originally in the strict sense infernal gods became such by a very natural confusion in the minds of later men. Nergal is the true Pluto, but Tammuz-Adonis can be mistaken for a Pluto. No doubt my articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, so far as they relate to archæology, would have gained from Mr. Legge's evident deep knowledge of archæological facts. He will remember, however, that all cannot be said, when space is limited, and that articles on kindred topics should be taken together. My object is to infuse a larger measure of the critical spirit into Biblical archæology, and to improve the basis of Biblical criticism by taking fuller account of archæological data. I regret that I have no time at present for further developments of my views on Armageddon.

Yours very truly,

T. K. CHEYNE.

ROCHESTER, *June 11th*, 1900.

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### ON AN ASSYRIAN LOAN-WORD IN HEBREW, AND ON

מִמְיָר.

Dr. Paul Ruben has already discovered the Assyrian *mindidu*, 'an official concerned with the measuring of wheat' (Delitzsch, *Ass. H.W.B.*, 393 b), underlying the corrupt word מִמְיָרִיָּה (Auth. Vers.,

and Rev. Vers., unsuitably 'thy crowned') in Nahum iii, 17, and I have corroborated this by the discovery of the same Assyrian word (and also of *dupšarru*, 'tablet-writer') in Isaiah xxxiii, 18, where סִפֵּר and שִׁקֵּל are glosses on *dupšarru* and *mindidu* respectively, so that we obtain the words, אֵיִה טִפְסָרִים אֵיִה מִנְדִּידִים, 'Where are the tablet-writers? where are the measuring-clerks?' See *Isaiah* in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, Hebrew edition, p. 107. I would now add that מִמְּזֹר in Zech. ix, 6 (rendered in E.V., 'And a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod') is certainly the same Assyrian loan-word *mindidu*, disguised by corruption. The *exact* meaning of the word need not have been known to this late prophetic writer; it is sufficiently correct therefore to render, 'And foreign functionaries shall dwell in Ashdod.' Thus the only O.T. passage containing מִמְּזֹר is Deut. xxiii, 2, and the passage to which this belongs is most probably post-Exilic. מִמְּזֹר is in my opinion a popular corruption of עַם הָאָרֶץ 'one of the people of the land' (*cf.* John vii, 49). I may add that the connection between the מִמְּזֹר of M.T. of Zech. ix, 6 and the מִנְזִיר of M.T. of Nahum iii, 17 was suspected by Willhausen, who however made no attempt to throw light upon it.

T. K. CHEYNE.

ROCHESTER, *June 12th*, 1900.

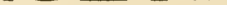
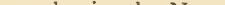
## NOTES.

39, PALACE MANSIONS,  
KENSINGTON.

14th June, 1900.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I have just read through Prof. Breasted's paper on "The Monuments in the Inscriptions" (Vol. XXII, pp. 88-95), and it may perhaps interest him, as well as other members of this Society, to know that Anna (Inni) whose inscription he quotes regarding the cliff-tomb of

Thothmes II was himself   
(var. ) "Superintendent  
of the works in the Necropolis-hill of the king." The same title

is found in several other Theban tombs, but the earliest example that I know of occurs in the story of Sanehat (l. 303), in the passage concerning the orders given by the king to his officials to build a fine tomb for the aged traveller.

Prof. Breasted mentions in the same paper the *ââf* "flies" of the Inscription of Amenemheb. Dr. Fritz von Bissing suggested this rendering of the word to me early in the spring of last year when we were together in Amenemheb's tomb at Thebes; I then made a facsimile of the determinative of the word and send you herewith a copy of it . All the hieroglyphs of this inscription are coloured green, so there is no detailed colouring to help us; but the sign, as you will see, is unmistakably a fly, and not, as was formerly supposed, a helmet.

Very sincerely yours,

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

CAIRO,

18th June, 1900.

DEAR SIR,

I have just received the last number of the *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, and see that Dr. Breasted, on p. 94, suggests that  in the "Amenemheb Inscription," means flies, and explains the golden flies of the Aahhotp jewelry. He is certainly right, but it might interest him and the readers of the *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* to know, that the inscription of Amenemheb at l. 16, as well as at l. 21 reads:  just as the statue of Mr. Finlay. This explains the curious hieroglyph of Ebers' copy in l. 21. The fact was noticed by me in 1896, and in 1898 I had the pleasure of examining the passage again with Mr. Newberry. As regards the explanation of the golden flies as a civil or military decoration, this has been suggested by Mariette in his *Notice des monuments du musée de Boulaq*, and also by Lenormant, *les premières civilisations*, I, p. l. 246, and by many others.

Perhaps you might call the attention of the readers of the *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* to the interesting fact that P. E. Newberry's

reading *khetem* for  corroborates Dr. Borchardt's suggestion in the *A. Zeitschr.* about the sign  (vol. 35, 106). Both signs are of course identical.

On p. 94 of *Pro. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Dr. Breasted states that in the inscription of Hepuseneb an important confirmation of the reference to the tomb of Tuthmose I in the inscription of Inni is found, and that it occurred to him as well as to Prof. Sethe that the well known shrine of Der el Bahri was perhaps mentioned in l. 17. Dr. Breasted always speaks, probably through a misprint, of Tuthmose I, while in the inscription everywhere the name of Tuthmose II is found.

Referring to the mention of the ebony shrine, it has been shown by Spiegelberg in the last number of the *Rec. des trav.*, Vol. XXII, that it was erected by Thuti (Northampton stela, l. 24).

As for the question of the name of Tuthmose II for that of Hatshepsut, probable as it seems, I hope Mr. Newberry will tell us more about it.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

FR. W. v. BISSING.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 12th June, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

PROF. SAYCE (*President*): "The Fall of the Assyrian Empire."



THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE  
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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*Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.*

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- BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
- BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmäler. Vol. I—III (Brugsch).
- Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
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*Fifth Meeting, June 12th, 1900.*

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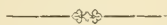
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*Fifth Meeting, 12th June, 1900.*

PROF. SAYCE, PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

---



The PRESIDENT referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of one of the Founders of the Society:—

REV. JOHN MEADOWS RODWELL, M.A. Born 1807,  
died 6th June, 1900.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Rev. W. T. Pilter. Moses and the Pharaohs. Part I. *The Churchman, May, 1900.* 8vo. London. 1900.

[No. CLXIX.]

From the Author :—Oscar von Lemm. Eine dem Dionysius Areopagita zugeschriebene Schrift in Koptischer Sprache. *Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*. V. Serie. XII. No. 3. Fol. Mënz. 1900.

From the Author :—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S. J.—Della Stela del Foro e della sua iscrizione arcaica. *Civiltà Catt.* May and June, 1900.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in May :—

Miss Colthurst, 47, Hill Street, Berkeley Square.

James Teakle Dennis, the University Club, Baltimore, U.S.A.

Charles Selkrig Hay (late District Judge, Kandy, Ceylon),  
Kandy Lodge, Wellington Road, Bournemouth.

A. Moret, Chargé de conférences d'antiquités Egyptiennes  
à l'École des Hautes Études, 114, Avenue de Wagram, Paris.

---

The following Candidate was nominated, and by special order of the Council submitted for election, and elected a Member.

Mrs. Wilberforce, Lavington, Sussex.

---

To be added to the list of Subscribers :—

The Public Library, Malta.

---

The following Papers were read :—

Prof. Sayce (*President*) : "The Fall of the Assyrian Empire."

Remarks were added by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this Communication.

---

## THE LANGUAGE OF MITANNI.\*

By Prof. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &amp;c., &amp;c.

The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets revealed to us the existence of a new language, once spoken in northern Mesopotamia in the kingdom of Mitanni, the Aram-Naharaim of the Old Testament. One of the letters addressed by Dusratta, king of Mitanni, to the Egyptian Pharaohs is in the native language of his country, and its length is such that a comparison of it with those of his letters which are written in Assyrian makes a partial decipherment of it possible. Shortly after the publication of the cuneiform text by Winckler and Abel in the *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* (I, No. 27), attempts at the decipherment of the language by Prof. Brünnow, Prof. Jensen, and myself, appeared simultaneously in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, V, 2, 3 (1890). Where two or all of us agreed, the meaning of a Mitannian word or grammatical form may be regarded as ascertained; the same may be said of the cases in which the translations offered by one of us have been accepted by the others.

The cuneiform text has recently been subjected to a very careful re-examination by Dr. Knudtzon, and the result of his labours is given in the *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, IV. pp. 134-153. The publication of this corrected text made me turn once more to the question of Mitannian decipherment, and I had already advanced, as I believed, some way in it, when I read Prof. Jensen's article on the same subject in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (XIV 1) for 1899. In this he gives the results of his latest researches

\* Since this Paper was sent to the printer I have received Dr. L. Messerschmidt's "Mitanni-Studien" (*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1899, 4). I have not yet had time to read it, but Dr. Messerschmidt's article on the Hittite inscriptions has shown that he possesses all the qualifications of a decipherer. Where, therefore, we are independently in agreement, our translations may be accepted with confidence.

into the Mitannian language, based upon Knudtson's text, and in several instances I found that we had independently arrived at the same conclusions. The saying that "out of the mouth of two witnesses shall every truth be established," holds good of decipherment as of other things, and our agreement therefore is an encouragement to further work.

Eleven years ago Prof. Brünnow and myself agreed in pointing out that in certain instances a suffixed *-u* denoted the copulative conjunction. It was also clear that the termination *-s* denoted the nominative of the noun, *-u* the accusative, and a simple vowel an oblique case. I also pointed out that *tissan* represents the Assyrian *dannis*, "very," that *atta-ippi* signifies "father," and *ammatippi* "grandfather," while *attartippi* is "ancestor," and *senippi* "brother." I further showed that the infixed vowel *-u-* represented the possessive pronoun of the first person, as in *sênippi-u-s*, "my brother," *dubsarripi-u-s*, "my secretary," and that certain words had been borrowed from Assyrian: *dubsarri*, "scribe," *dubbe*, "letter," *Eâ-sarri*, "Ea the king." Other points on which the decipherers were agreed were that *passi-dkhippi* signified "messenger," *passi* or *passu*, "to send," and *enippi*, "god," and that *-ena* was a plural suffix.

Before the publication of my article, I had shown in the *Academy* that as in the Assyrian lexical tablets *ene* and *Tessub* were stated respectively to mean "deity" and the "Air-god" in the language of Šuri or Šu, while we found both words with the same meanings in the letter of Dusratta, it follows that by the language of Šu the Assyrian lexicographers meant the language of Mitanni. Besides *ene* and *Tessub* other words are mentioned in the lexical tablets as belonging to the language of Šu. These are (1) *ârakhi*, for which we should probably read *zârakhi*, and *zalkhu*, "lead," Assn. *anaku* (W.A.I., V, 29, 42, 43); (2) *khârali*, "a door" (W.A.I., II, 23, 21c); (3) *namallum*, "a bed" (W.A.I., II, 23, 63c); (4) *pitqu*, "son" (W.A.I., II, 30, 48c)—the word *nipru* which follows is probably Assyrian;\* (5) *šarme* or *šarve*, "a forest" (W.A.I., II, 23, 57e); *ulnu*, "oil" (W.A.I., V, 28, 28); (6) *Zizanu*, "the god Nin-īp" (W.A.I., II, 57, 41d); (7) . . . *ri* (?) *-šî*, "the god Nergal" (W.A.I., V, 46, 24d); (8) *Saus[kas]*, "the goddess Istar" (K. 2100, II, 4). Of these *pitqu* looks as if it came from some Semitic dialect rather than from the non-Semitic Mitannian, and *namallum* has

\* But perhaps it is to be identified with the *napri-llan* mentioned below.



received an Assyrian termination even if it is not actually of Assyrian origin. It may, however, be from a stem *nam* with the Mitannian suffix *-lla*.

Other Mitannian words are to be discovered in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. In one of the letters of Dusratta one of his envoys is called Tunip-ipri (*Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 9, 47), "the king of Tunip." This raises a presumption that the power of Mitanni extended as far as Tunip, the modern Tennib, and that the Mitannian language was spoken there. The presumption is confirmed by a letter sent to the Pharaoh by the people of Tunip in which the native words added to the Assyrian translation, where the latter did not seem quite clear or literal enough, all belong to the language of Mitanni. Thus Thohtmes III is called *ammati-pi-ta*, "thy forefather" (or better "to thy forefather") (*Tell el-Amarna, &c.*, 41, 8), and *labêrute-su*, "his elders," is glossed *ammati* (l. 11). Both the word itself and its suffixes occur repeatedly in the Mitannian letter of Dusratta. In line 9 *naprillan* is given as the native equivalent of *u D.P. mutâ-su*, "and his priests"; the Assyrian words are explained by a parallel passage in *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, 36, *Rev.* 7.

A Mitannian dialect must also have been spoken in Nukhasse, the Anaugas of the Egyptian texts, since in a letter from that district (*Winckler and Abel*, 143, 11) *zuzi-la-man* is given as the native equivalent of the Assyrian *u pani-sunu tsabat*, "and take their faces," "accept them." In the same letter (l. 15) the Hittite soldiers are called *lupakku*.

In the Mitannian letter of Dusratta itself the meaning of a few words and forms is cleared up by the ideographs attached to them. In this way I was able to show in my former Paper that *-ena* was a plural suffix. It was not, however, the only plural form, the ideograph of plurality (MES) being attached to the following words: *attârtippi-a-s* MES, I, 8; AN-MES *ênennasus*, I, 78, IV, 117; AN-MES *ênippi-sus*, II, 76; *tipiê* MES, I, 80; *nûli* MES (= KIR-KIR-MES), III, 113, 118; *ûmîni* MES, III, 26; *ûmînna* MES, IV, 124; *tipiena* MES, I, 99, 108, II, 80, III, 53, 56; *tasêna* MES, I, 88; *passîdkhena* MES, III, 26; *duppa-kûskhena* MES, II, 21, 29; *sû-alla-man* MES, I, 108; AN-MES *ênippi-alla-n*, IV, 64; AN-MES *eni-lla-n*, IV, 65; *ûminippi . . anna-man* MES, II, 17; *attârtippira* MES, IV, 98. The *zuzi-la-man* of the letter from Nukhasse is parallel to *sû-alla-man* and *eni-lla-n*.

In his Paper in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Prof. Jensen had

shown that *khiarukkkhe* or *khirukkkhe* must signify "gold."\* It is noticeable that the termination is the same as that of *ârakhi* or *zalkhu*, "lead," and that it is also attached to the word *sinni-bêrukkkhe* " (made) of ivory," from the Assyrian *sinni-piri* (III, 97). Jensen also pointed out that *sala* meant "daughter," from which it followed that *asti* was "wife," and *ela*, "sister." Another discovery of his was that *ipriš* signified "king." We agreed in the interpretation of the word *ûme* or *ûmini*. I had suggested "provinces" as its signification when in the plural number; he made it clear that it meant "land."

I must now pass on to the list of words and forms he has given in his recent Paper in the *Zeitschrift*, noting where I had independently come to the same conclusion as himself in regard to their meanings, and also where I should propose another rendering for them. In all other cases it must be understood that I accept his interpretation.

He has adopted the signification I had assigned to the verb *gulu*, "to say," as well as the explanation of the suffix *-u* as denoting the first personal pronoun. Accordingly he makes *gulu-sa*, "he said," and *gulu-sa-u*, "I said," as I had already done. He also agrees with me in making *-âma* and *-ta* terminations of the third person singular. He has, however, mistaken the nature of the suffix *-pi* or *-(i)ppi*, which really denotes that the noun to which it is attached is used absolutely, and which may therefore be termed the suffix of definition. Thus in IV, 64, 65, we have AN-MES *êni-ppi-alla-n* . . . AN-MES *êni-lla-n sen-ippi-u-ena*, "and the gods . . . and the gods of my brother." Consequently in *passidkhi-p*, *êni-pi*, *attai-pi*, "thy messenger," "thy (?) god," "thy father," Prof. Jensen is wrong in seeing the possessive pronoun in the suffix *pi*. It is the vowel *i* (*passidkh-i-p*, *atta-i-pi*) which represents it, as we shall see further on. On the other hand, I believe he is right in making *-epi* (as in *tadukarêpi*) the first person of a verb, but if so, we should probably read the character *pi* as *wa* and connect the suffix with the pronominal *-u*.

He is certainly right, moreover, in seeing in *ae* an adverbial ending, as in the words *teunae*, *nirupatae*, and *nirusae*, to which he gives the meanings of "much," "often," and "quickly."† He is also right in seeing in *ari* an imperative ("send"), and in his explana-

\* Or rather "of gold," "golden."

† *Nirusae* is rather "early," *niru-patae*, "soon," *teunae*, "for ever."

tion of the compound form *gīpanu-sau-ssena*, "give-I-them." But *aru-sau-ssenâ-pi* is "sent-I-belonging-to-it," not "sent-I-it-to-thee," where the suffix agrees with that of the object *nikhare-pi*, "belonging to the dowry."

I now come to the Professor's list of words. (1) *Ar*, he says, means "to send" things, and *pas* "to send" persons. But III, 11, *undu-man sen-ippi-u-en asti aru-sau*, "and when I sent the wife of my brother," shows that *ar* is equally used of persons. I had independently assigned the meaning of "sending," to the root *ar*; the meaning of *pas*, or rather *passi*, was already given in my former paper. (2) *Anzanukh*, *tat* and *tadu-kari*, all alike mean "to love." As to *tat* and *tadu-kari*, I had independently arrived at the same conclusion, except that I should make the compound *tadu-kari*, "be friendly to," rather than "love." *Anzannu-khu* is rather "to cause to rejoice," from the simple *anzanni*, "joy" (II, 66), as in III, 49-52: *sen-ippi-tâ-man tipi sukku gulli sen-ippi-u-ssa-n khase-n senippên attarti-ippi-ta-n tissanna-man anzannû-khu-sau tata-raskae anamma-n anzannû-khu-sau gulli-man iallênin*, "and to thy brother speak a favourable word, and let my brother consider (or hear) his brother, and to thy forefather(s) greatly also have I caused joy with marks of affection, and thus have I caused joy through mutual intercourse." (3) *Ailan*, Jensen makes "then." Perhaps it is rather "how," "that." At all events we find *ai-tan* in II, 90, and the word has the same pronominal origin as *ai-in* which I believe to mean "now." (4) *Anammi* or *anamma*, "so," "thus." This must undoubtedly be its signification. (5) *Gīpānu*, "to give." This again is an interpretation at which I had independently arrived. (6) *Katille-ta*, "he said." The signification thus assigned by Prof. Jensen to the word is verified by IV, 21, 27, where *katilli-ta* interchanges with *gulê-ta*. Perhaps "repeated" would be more exact. (7) *Khas*, "speak" or "write." The word, however, cannot mean either the one or the other. I long hesitated between the meanings of "hear" and "see," "consider," and at the outset preferred the first in consequence of passages like III, 49, quoted above, and IV, 5, 6, where *khasû-sau-anna-n* is coupled with *gulu-sattâ-n*, but finally came to the conclusion that it signified "to see." (8) *Khil*, "ask." This is certainly right. (9) *Nakkas*, "pure" or "good." The interpretation of this word is very doubtful; it seems to be an epithet of "gold" (e.g., III, 103). (10) *Nikhari*, "dowry." Prof. Jensen is again clearly right in the meaning he assigns to this

word. (11) *Sar*, "to wish." I had independently given the same signification to this root; it is, indeed, necessitated by III, 1, *sen-ippi-u-ssa-n asti saru-sa* D.P [Mi-] *zir-rê-[pi?] pas[su-si]*, "and my brother wished an Egyptian wife to be sent to him." (12) *Tan*, "take." This is incorrect. *Tanu* means "to make" not "to take." Thus we have I, 105, *tipêna tânu-sâ-ssena*, "words made-he-them"; III, 106, *Immuriassâ-n, ZA-LAM-si tanû-sa*, "and Immurias made that image." (13) *Uaduranna*, "more." I had supposed that *uaduranna* signified "in place of," but Prof. Jensen's interpretation is evidently the correct one. With *uaduranna* the verb *udirru* must be connected in III, 53: *tipêna tanû-sâ-ssena udirrû-sâ-anna-lla-man isa-llân sukka-nnê-lla-man*, "words he made and added to them in return favourable ones." (14) *Undu*, "when." This is borrowed from Assyrian. Dusratta uses the word several times in his Assyrian letters.

I must now pass on to the results of my own investigations. And first as to grammar. The Mitannian language was highly agglutinative, and had the power of attaching suffixes one to another to an amazing extent. As in Basque, the pronouns could be suffixed one after the other to the verbal forms, the whole compound coalescing and contracting into a single word. It is noticeable that the complicated verbal forms of Georgian seem to have arisen in this way. Like the inflectional languages, however, the Mitannian required that grammatical concord should be represented outwardly, words that were in agreement with one another terminating in the same suffixes. As I stated in my former paper, the verb and noun were scarcely differentiated from each other; many of their suffixes were the same, and a gerundial form is frequently used where we should expect a verbal tense.

The simplest form of the declension is represented by the nominative in *-s*, accusative in *-n*, and oblique case in *-i*, *-e* or *-a*, perhaps also in *-u*. When the copulative conjunction *-n* was attached to the nominative or accusative, *a* was inserted between it and the case ending. Sometimes the *-n* of the accusative was dropped, when the substantive was in what the Semitic grammarians would call the construct case, or when an adjective with the accusative termination was in agreement with it. Thus we find (III, 11) *undu-man sen-ippi-u-en asti aru-sau*, "now when I sent my brother's wife." Nor was the accusative suffix attached to the suffix *-ippi*, *-ppi*, *-pi* or *-p*. Like the nominative *-s(a)*, the accusative could be lengthened into

-na, e.g., *senippi-u-s attartippi-û-nna khirukkhkhae irnûkhu-si-ama*, "my brother had asked my grandfather for gold" (III, 66), and in *Ikhibe-ni* (I, 86) it apparently has the form of -ni.

I have already given the name of suffix of definition to the suffix -*pi*. It defined and, as it were, individualised a substantive or adjective, and denoted that it was used absolutely. The suffix was one of the commonest in Mitannian, and in the case of certain words like *sen-ippi*, "brother," it seems to have become almost inseparable. In fact it denoted a special brother in contrast to the class of brothers generally.

The vocative was the simple form of the noun, without the terminations of the nominative or accusative. Thus *senippi* is "O brother."

The suffixes by which other relations of the noun were expressed were numerous. The dative was represented by -*ta*, e.g., *sen-ippi-tâ-man tîpi sukku gulli*, "now to thy brother speak a favourable word" (III, 49). Another relation which it is not easy to define was denoted by the suffixes -*lla* and -*lli*, to which the conjunctive particles -*n* and -*man* were frequently attached. As *zuzi-la-man* in the Nukhassê letter means "and accept them" the double suffix must sometimes at least represent a plural. This is confirmed by the *napri-lla-n* "and his priests" of the letter from Tunip. In Mitannian the double suffix not unfrequently takes the place of the nominative singular; thus we have *Manes Gi[li]a-llâ-n katillîta*, "Manes and Giliâs repeated" (IV, 21), *Giliâs Mane-lla-n-guliâma*, "Giliâs and Manes had said" (IV, 26), *tî[p]êna-n istani-ppi-sa Tessupas Amanû-l[la-n] ta[n]usâ-ssena*, "and the words which (?) Tessupas and Amon made" (II, 65). On the other hand in *sua-lla-man*, "many times," it has a plural signification. I am on the whole therefore inclined to assign to it a comitative or conjunctive meaning. It is sometimes combined with the suffix -*ti* which bears the same relation to -*ta* that -*lli* bears to -*lla*, e.g., *anammi-ti-llâ-n Tessupas Sauskas Amânu-ti-lâ-n . . . ênna-sus*, "and similarly to thee (?) may Tessupas and Sauskas with thy (?) Amon . . . all the gods (love thee)" (I, 76-78), *Tessupas Amânû-ti-llâ-n ipri-ppi-sus atta-ippi-sus*, "Tessupas with thy (?) Amon our (?) kings, our (?) fathers" (IV, 118). In I, 109, we find the form *tâni-llê-tâ-lla-man* from *tanu*, "to make." Here the compound suffix is attached to the same verbal form as that which we have in *kati-lli-ta*, "they (or he) repeated." In III, 18, it seems to have the same force as in the



*zuzi-laman* of the Nukhassê letter: *gipanu-sau-lla-man pirê-ta-llan senippi-u-s*, "and I gave them and my brother received them"; see also IV, 39, *senippi-u-lla-n pirê-ta*, "and my brother received them," where the literal translation would be: "and-my-brother-them he received." In I, 71, we read *Mane-lla-man passidkhipi-u-s pirû-sâ-lla-man*, "Manes my messenger received." The two last examples show that the form in *-lla-n* (or *-lla-man*) takes the place of the nominative when the plural "them" is the object of the verb.

Another noun suffix is *-ku*, as in *urukku* (II, 101), accusative *urukkun* (II, 95). In III, 45, it seems to have the force of a passive participle, *ain ullui êlarti-ppi-u-enâ-sê-mma-man nikhari-â-se dubbias dubbukku*, "now to me (?) letters about the dowry of my eldest sister were written." On the other hand *Manenna-man mânnukku âlu-mbu-sse* may signify "Manes as myself I treat him" (II, 91), in which case the passage in III, 45 would mean "thy letters were as my letters." By the side of *-ku* we also find *-kî*, as in *tadukâru-si-kkî*, "thou wilt love him" (II, 79). Another suffix was *-ra* which is combined with *-la* in *Manê-ra-la-n* (II, 116) and with *-man* in [*sen*]-*ippi-râ-man* (IV, 111), while the ideograph of plurality is attached to it in *attarti-ppi-ra* (IV, 98).

The oblique case appears sometimes with final *-e*, sometimes with final *-a*, a difference of sense existing between the two vowel terminations which I have not been able to seize. Thus we have *khia-rukhkhe nakkase* in III, 103, and *khia-rukhkha nakkassa* in III, 106. Similarly by the side of the adverbial *inna-mê-nin* (III, 21), we find in the next line *inna-mâ-nin* (III, 22). Perhaps the meaning of the passage in which the two latter words occurs is: *undu-man inna-mê-nin sen-ippi-u-e asti unêttu inna-mâ-nin sen-ippi-ta tikhanu-llêtta*, "and when on my side I had selected (?) a wife for my brother, on thy side she brought a gift to my brother."

The various forms of the plural have already been noticed. Of these the most common is that terminating in *-êna*, which corresponds with the termination of the accusative singular, just as the forms *attarti-ppi-a-s*, "thy forefathers," and *enippi-sus*, "the gods," correspond with the nominative singular. It will be noticed that in many cases—e.g., in *attartippi-a-s*, *eni-lla-n*, *sû-alla-man*, and the oblique *ûmini* and *ûminna*,—unless the two latter are from a stem *ûmi*—there is no distinction between the singular and plural. The suffix *-su-s* seems to be the word *su*, "many," of which I shall speak further on.

Besides what may be more strictly called case suffixes, there were

also adverbial suffixes which, however, could be attached to pronouns, verbs and even adverbs as well as to nouns. One of these is the copulative conjunction *-n*. Another is the conjunction *-man*, which interchanges with *-n* (e.g., III, 1, or IV, 45, compared with III, 49),\* and may be translated "also." It is possible that *-man* was pronounced *-wan*, and had the same root as *-(a)n*. Another adverbial suffix is *-(i)mma*, which is frequently combined with *-man*. Thus we have *âminê-mma-man* (I, 20), *mannî-mma-man* (I, 16), parallel with *mânnu-lla-man* (I, 8), *Simigi-nê-pî-nê-mma-man* (I, 94). In *gîpanêta-mma-man* (III, 62), it is attached to the verbal form *gîpanêta*, "he gave." I fancy the suffix has properly some such signification as "at this time," "in this place," but *mannu-lla-man* and *mannî-mma-man* seem to be used interchangeably in the sense of "mine."†

There are other suffixes common to nouns and verbs, which are formative rather than casual. Among these is *-kha* in *êmanam-kha*, "interchange" (IV, 32), which is also attached to verbal forms (III, 16, 86, 95, 96), and is possibly related to the causative *-khu* (as in *anzannu-khu*, "I caused to rejoice").‡

There are no genders; thus *enîppi* is at once "god" and "goddess" (see III, 98).

The adjective may either precede or follow its substantive. The most frequent adjectival suffix is *-ni* or *-nê*; e.g., *senîppi-u-enê*, "belonging to my brother" (IV, 25), *Masri-â-ni*, "Egyptian" (I, 10; II, 69).§ This is often combined with the suffix *-pî*; e.g., *Simiginê-pî-nê* "(the city) of the god Simiginis" (I, 86), *Masri-â-ne-pî* (II, 71), *sênîppi-u-enê-pî* (IV, 44). The suffix *-pî* frequently stands alone as in *Simiginê-pî enîppi*, "the god Simiginis" (I, 105), *Mizirre-pî-ne-s ipris*, "the king of Egypt" (II, 85). The adjectival *-ni* may be contracted into the form of the accusative in *-n*, when it agrees with a suffixless accusative; thus we have *senîppi-u-en asti*, "my brother's wife" (III, 11), by the side of *senîppi-u-e asti* (III, 21), where *senîppi-u-e* is in

\* So *tisa-man* (IV, 32) for the usual *tissan*. See also II, 68, 69: *Murw-ukhen â[mînî] Masri-â-ni-mân âmînî*, "the land of Mitanni and the land of Egypt."

† The suffix is the same as the verbal suffix *-ma*, the doubling of the *m* merely denoting that the accent falls on the preceding vowel.

‡ The plural is found in *duppa-kuskhena*, II, 21. Cp. *silakh-uskha*, IV, 66.

§ In III, 117, *Masri-â-nni* is a plural.



the genitive or oblique case. The form in *ni* is used preferably with the plural; thus we have *tipi sukku*, "a favourable word" (III, 49), but *sukka-nnê-lla-man passikhippi*, "favourable messages" (III, 54). Another adjectival suffix seems to have been *s* as in *nakkase*, *nakkassa* (III, 103, 77, 106), *Sankharra-sa-ni-n*, "belonging to Shinar" or Babylonia. Cf. also *Masri-â-nna-sa* (IV, 105), *êlartippi-u-enâsê-mma-man nikhâri-âse dubbias*, "letters about the dowry of my eldest sister."

The pronouns of the first, second and third persons, when suffixed to other words, are represented by *u*, *i* or *e*, and *si* or *se*, plural *sena*, "them." Thus we have *sen-ippi-u-s*, "my brother," *sen-ippi-u-e*, "of my brother," *passitkhippi-u-s*, "my messenger," *passitkhippi-u-ta* (I, 53), "to my messenger," *aru-sa-u*, "I sent," *tata-u*, "I loved" (I, 75); *sen-ippi-ta* (for *sen-ippi-i-ta*); "to thy brother" (III, 8, 49); *enipi atta-i-pi*, "the god thy father" (I, 87); *tatiâ-ssa*, "he loves her" (III, 91), *gipânû-sa-sse*, "he gave it" (III, 68), *dubbe khillu-si-ttâ-n Mane-ta*, "a letter to Manes, asking for it also" (I, 18); *gipanu-sa-ssena*, "he gave them" (I, 22); *dubbe nikharre-pi aru-sau-ssenê-pi*, "letters about the dowry I sent them" (III, 41). Besides *i*, *a* also appears as representative of the second person; e.g., *atta-ippa*, "to thy father" (III, 52). But this may be a contraction for *atta-ippi-a*. On the other hand we have *sala-p-an*, "thy daughter" (I, 51), which seems to stand for *sala-p-a-n*, and *attârti-ppi-a-s* (I, 8), which can hardly be anything else than "thy forefathers," as well as *sen-a-pi-s* (I, 84). In the verb, however, *-a* represents the third person, not only in the case of *-sa* (e.g., *gulu-sa*) but also in that of *-ia*, e.g., *senippi-u-s kadû-sâ-ssena ur-iâ ssena*, "my brother devised (?) and wrote them" (IV, 31); *senippi-u-s tal-ia*, "my brother loved" (I, 74). It will be noticed that the possessive pronoun is intercalated between the stem of the noun and the case ending.

The first personal pronoun is *uya*, as in *uya-man senippi-s*, "I am thy brother" (IV, 57), and *û-li* or *û-lê*, means "to me" in IV, 53, 55.

By the side of the suffixed forms of the personal pronouns there are also independent forms. One of these is *mann(a)*, in regard to which I have long hesitated as to whether it means "myself" or "himself." I have, however, finally inclined to the belief that it denotes the first person. Thus we have *mânnâ-n khilli*, "and ask me" (I, 84), *Tadukhepa manni Dusrattâ-pi . . . sâla*, "Tadukhepa, the daughter of me, Dusratta" (III, 103). *Mâna* (I, 73) seems to be "to me," and we also find *manna-lla-man* ("mine"), *manni-mma-man*, *manna-tla-man* (III, 63), and *mannu-kku* (II, 91, *Manenna-man*

*mānmu-kku âlu-mbu-sse*, "Manes as myself I treat him" (?)\* The second person appears to be represented at times by *-ta(-te)*; at least, we have *tata-sti-te-n*, "may (the gods) love thee" (I, 78), parallel with *agu-kara-sti-en*, "may he honour him" (II, 86).

In the last instance we have *en* (or *-n*) denoting the third person. Elsewhere we get other examples of the same form, e.g., *khasû-sau-nnâ-n*, "and I saw it" (IV, 6), *udirru-sâ-nna-lla-man*, "adding thereunto" (III, 53), *arû-saû-n*, "I sent her" (III, 2), *akû-sâ-nni*, "he brought it away" (II, 60), *kati-kkû-nni*, "I will utter it" or "them" (IV, 2), *khillu-si-kkû-nni*, "I will ask it" (IV, 4), and the complicated *tânu-sî-ûi-allâ-nni* (IV, 10). But the usual form of the third person is *si* or *se*, plural *sena*.

The suffixed form of the first person seems at times to be used independently with affixes. At all events it is difficult to assign any other signification than that of "to me" to the word *-llui* in *senip-u-ss-an ullui tipi-ippi sukku tânasti-en*, "may my brother make a favourable word to me" (III, 75); *aiin ullui êlartippi-u-enâ-sê-mma-man nikhari-â-se dubbi-a-s*, "now to me letters about the dowry of my eldest sister (?) " (III. 44, 45). So, too, we have *senippi-u-ssa-n umîni sî-a-nna-man puklusti-en âllâ-n âminna sî-a-lla-man* (III, 24, 25), which appears to mean "and may my brother . . . all his lands and all my lands"; *senippi-u-â-lla-n gîpânu-sau-ssena gîpânu-sau-lla-man pîrê-tâ-llân senippi-u-s unâlan* (III, 17-19) "and to my brother I gave them, and what I gave my brother received from me."†

The verb has two stems, one in *-u*, the other in *-i* (or *-e*). In the imperative and infinitive we usually find the stem in *-i*; e.g., *ari* "send" (I, 51); *gulli*, "speak" (II, 12); *sue*, "multiply" (I, 69); *khilli*, "ask" (I, 84); *gulli-man*, "the speaking" (III, 51). In the aorist the stem in *-u* is used. The aorist is characterised by *-sa* in the third person singular, *sau* in the first person; *gulû-sa*, "he said" (I, 83); *arû-sau*, "I sent" (III, 11).

With the pluperfect, the perfect, and the present, on the other hand, the stem in *-i* is employed. Thus we have *gûli-â-ma*, "he had said" (IV, 21); *passi-â-ma*, "he had sent" (IV, 55); *gîpânê-ta*, "he has given" (II, 54); *gulê-ta*, "they have said" (IV, 27); *tâtia*, "he loves" (I, 74); *uriâ-ssena*, "he writes them" (IV, 31). The first person singular of the present, however, changes the *-i* of the stem

\* If *mann(a)* is really the third person, *man-na-lla-man* would probably mean "from that time," "of old," and *manni-mma-man*, "at that time," "then."

† Cf. also *â-lî* (II, 79), and *uya-man* (IV, 57), which signifies "I (am)," and may be compared with *siya* (I, 92).

into *-a* ; e.g., *tâta-u*, "I love," by the side of *tâtî-a*, "he loves" (I, 75). The pluperfect seems to be the present with the suffix *-ma*, which we find elsewhere, as in *arû-mâ-ssu-khikha*, "what I had sent" (?) (III, 13). We may compare *uru-mu*, "the writing" (IV, 47); *pikhru-mme*, "alliance" (?) (IV, 111). The suffix *-ta* of the perfect, it will be noted, serves equally to denote singular and plural; in *unû-tta*, "I selected" (?) (III, 21), it also represents the first person singular. For the relation of the perfect to the aorist, see III, 18.

In *gipânû-sû-sse*, "I gave it" (III, 69), *su* seems to be a contraction of *sau*. On the other hand *gilû-s-u-a* in I, 89 must be: "he to me . . ." like *ninu-s-û-a* in IV 7. *Urau-sa-ssena-man* in I, 80 is probably "I-write-to-him-them-also."

The precative is expressed by the suffix *-sti*. Thus we find *tâta-sti-ten*, "may (the gods) love thee" (I, 78); *Manenna-man senippi-u-s agu-kara-sti-en*, "may my brother honour Manes" (II, 86). *Tana-stâ-u* in I, 44 is possibly "may I make," while *gipânû-lû-stâ-ssena* in III, 59 expresses the plural "may they give them." I believe that *iddû-sta-man senippi-ta* in III, 2, 3, means "and mayest thou be satisfied with thy brother." The third person singular of the imperative is often represented by the suffix *-en*; thus we find *passien*, "let him send" (IV, 54, 57), where, however, we may translate "send him," taking *passi* as the second person of the imperative. But we can hardly translate *senippi-u-s gipannu-en* (III, 74) otherwise than "let my brother give."

But as I said in my former Paper, the verb in Mitannian has hardly been differentiated from the noun, and consequently the same suffixes are found with both. A large number of verbal forms are simple gerunds, and the suffixes which we have met with in the nouns occur again in the verbs. *-Sa* and *-ta*, *-si* and *-ti* are common to both, like the suffixes *-lla-n* and *-lla-man*, *-lli*, *-kk*, &c. Thus we have *gipannu-saû-lla-man pirê-ta-lla-man* (III, 18); *khillu-si-ttâ-n Mane-ta*, "and to Manes asking him" (II, 18, 19); *khillu-si-s*, nominative of the participle (IV, 14); *khillu-si-kkû-nni* (IV, 11); *khasâ-si-llâ-ini-llan* (IV, 23); *tânu-si-kka-ttâ-n* (II, 5); *subi-âma-sti-eni-tan* (III, 88).\*

\* What is the exact force of *si* in some of these verbal forms I do not know. It must be distinguished from the infixed or affixed third personal pronoun which sometimes takes the form of *si*. The suffix *li* (or *lê*) in *kati-lê-pi* (IV, 18) seems to give the meaning of "I utter in return," "I reply," "I speak with (you)," though it may be only the form of the first person of the perfect. Perhaps *arû-si* in II, 7 is an imperative; but *passu-[si]* in III, 1, is certainly an infinitive (if the reading is correct).

The suffix *-khu*, attached to the stem or root, seems to give it a causative sense, as in *anzannu-khu*, "I caused to rejoice"; whereas *kha* seems to be a relative, "whom" or "what." We meet with the latter suffix in a series of curious forms in *-mbu*; *arû-si-mbu-s-kha*, "whom I sent (to him)" (III, 16); *sâru-si-mbu-nnu-khkha*, "whom he desired" (?) (III, 86); *nakhû-lli-mbû-ssu-kha* (III, 96); *uri-mbû-ssu-khkha-man*, "for which I wrote" (III, 95). For *âlu-mbu-sse*, "I treat (?) him" (II, 91), see above. *Khe*, it must be noticed, is the termination of the word for "gold," *khîarukhkhe*, and is also attached to the adjectival form of the borrowed Assyrian word for "ivory" (*sinnibêru-khkhe*); while we find *-kha* in *êmanamkha*, "interchange" (IV, 32).

*Dubbu-kku* in III, 45 seems to be used passively, "were written." But it may be a substantive *dubb-u-kku*, "as my letter." Cf. *piri-kkû-ni* (III, 9), which may be a first person singular of the future tense, as is certainly the case with *kati-kkû-ni*, "I will utter it" (IV, 2), and *mânnu-kka-llâ-n ûnu-kka-la-n*, "when I have taken" (IV, 2, 3). We have the second person singular in IV, 16, 17, *tipi-a-llâ-n surpi sênippi-ta katikki*, "and thy corresponding words to thy brother thou shalt utter."

*Adverbs and particles.*—Many adverbs end in *-ae*, which is really the termination of the oblique case of the noun (so *khîrukhhæ*, III, 66). Among them may be mentioned *tata-raskæ*, "from affection" (III, 53). It may be only an accident that the second part of the compound has the same ending as the name of the Mitannian Istar, the goddess *Sau-skas*.

Other adverbs are formed by the suffixes *-(a)n*, *-(a)na*, and *-alla-man*; e.g., *tissan*, "exceedingly"; *uaduranna* (*uaduranni-man*), "more"; *suallaman*, "often." In *ai-lan* and *ai-tan* as well as *eta-lan*, "how" (IV, 45), we have other noun suffixes. Another adverbial suffix is *-în*, as in *ai-in*, "now," or *-nîn*, as in *atî-nîn*.\* This is combined with *-me* and *-ma* in the adverbs *inna-me-nîn*, "on my side" (?) (III, 21); *inna-ma-nîn*, "on his side" (?) (II, 14, III, 22); cf. *inû-me-nîn* (I, 13, 75), and *ie-me-nîn* (II, 62).† It is further com-

\* *Atînin* appears to mean "as"; *atînin manni-mma-man*, "as mine" (I, 16). We find *atînin tasan* (I, 90); *atînin Simiginê-pi-n²-mma-man* (I, 94), *atînin manna-lla-man* (I, 109); *atînin senipp-ê-n*, "as thy brother" (II, 93); *atînin âminippi-â-n*, "as thy land" (II, 97).

† *Inû* may have the same root as *inna*. By the side of *inû-mênin*, "on thy part," we have *inû-ttâ-nîn*, "on thy part" (II, 74, 75). *Inû-n* in III, 3, seems to signify "now" or "then." As for *inna*, *innâ-mma-man* is found in IV, 110.

bined with *-llê* and *-llâ* in *ia-llê-nîn*, "mutually"; *ia-llâ-nîn*, "together" (III, 52, 55), where we have the same unexplained difference in the vowel (*ê* and *â*) that I have already drawn attention to in the case of the noun. We find the same alternation of *ê* and *â* in *îe-mê-nîn* (II, 62), *îe-mânîn* (IV, 27), and *îa-mma-man* (IV, 18), by the side of which the plural *î-enâ-mâ-nîn* also occurs (IV, 21).\*

The pronominal root *i-* must be included among the adverbs, as it occurs only in an adverbial use. We find *i-â-n* (III, 5, 6), *i-â-lan* and *i-a-ti-lan* (II, 92, 73, 74), *î-u-ta-lla-man* (II, 94), *î-mma-man* (II, 98, 101, where, however, *i* may denote the 2nd pers. pron., *pazi-man î-mma-man piru-sau-sse*, being "thy embassy I received"), *î-ummi-mma-man* (II, 99, perhaps "our," that is "thou + I"). The oblique case *îê* is found in I, 54 and the accusative *î-n* (? "what") in III, 48, as well as *î-ê-n* in II, 79).

Another pronominal adverb is *etita*, for which I can suggest no better translation than that of "aforesaid" proposed in my former Paper. The stem is found with other suffixes in *etis* (III, 122), *etîê* and *etippi-u-e* (IV, 22), *etita-mma-man* (III, 46), *etippi-sa* (II, 80). *Pê-pi etî-pi* (III, 55) probably means "on that day."

*Ai-in* "now," and *ai-lan*, "how," give us a stem *ai* which we also find in *âiê* (III, 28),† *ai-manin*, "as," "that" (III, 111).

Connected with *pê-pi*, "day" is *pessa-n*, which in III, 66-68 is correlated with *issina-n*, and must signify "so now," *issina-n* being "as formerly." In III, 3 we have *pesse-nîn* with the adverbial termination *-nîn*.

Other adverbs are *anti*, "thus," to which the suffixes of the noun are sometimes attached, like *anti-lla-n*, and *anamma* or *anammi*, "accordingly," which can be combined with suffixes in the same way. *An-ti* and *an-amma* seem to have the same root.

A common adverb of time is *undu*, "when," to which not only the particles *-n* and *-man* can be attached, but even the accusative suffix, as in *undu-n Manennan* (IV, 35), unless, indeed, here also the termination is really the copulative conjunction *-n*. Another adverb in *-u* is *guru*, "again," which may be the infinitive of a verb.

The two copulative conjunctions *-n* and *-man* have already been noticed. *Man* may best be translated "also," while the adverbial suffix *-mma* with which it is frequently associated appears to have the sense of here," like *êc* in the Greek *ὅτε*.

\* *I-a-mê-nîn* (? "since on my part") occurs in III, 91.

† Unless *âiê* is a different word altogether.



In spite, however of these numerous copulative particles, nouns and verbs are coupled together without any conjunction being inserted between them, e.g., *ammatippi-u-s attā-ippi-u-s*, "my grandfather (and) my father" (III, 58).

Little can be said about Mitannian syntax beyond the general fact that it resembles in its main features that of the inflectional languages. Words in agreement with one another have the same suffixes attached to them, the agreement extending to the verbal forms and even to the adverbs. The language is postfixal, and the affixes can be attached one to another to a remarkable extent. Even independent words can become suffixes, e.g. [*attar*]*tippi-ra tatau-ssenā-su-ra*, "I love thy forefathers, all of them" (I, 71), where *su*, "all," is used as a formative suffix. As in the inflectional languages, the adjective can either follow or precede its substantive.

For the gerundival construction, *dubbe ara-nnê-ni-la-n . . . khasê-ni-llâ-n*, "letters having been sent . . . when I had seen them" (III, 39, 40), see below. Here *-ni* is the adjectival suffix, *ara-nnê* ("sendings") a verbal noun agreeing with *dubbe* and *-llâ-n*, the plural "they" or "them."

### Vocabulary.

In addition to the words in regard to the signification of which Prof. Jensen and myself are in accord, there are some others whose meaning, I believe, can be fixed. *Tipi*, pl. *tîpê* and *tîpêna*, means "word," as I pointed out in my former Paper. This follows from the discovery of the meaning of *gulu*, since *tîpi gulli* (II, 12), for example, must signify "speak a word," *tîpi anti gulûsa* (I, 83), "he spoke a word as follows." The meaning of the adverb *anti* is indicated at the same time.

The meaning of the root *su*, "much," is shown by a comparison of the numerous passages in which it is found, e.g., IV, 30, *undu-man î-a-llê-nin tîpêna su-a-lla-man senippi-u-s kadû-sâ-ssena ûriâ-ssena*, "and since my brother has devised (?) and writes words (many times, i.e.) often to one another"; *senippi-u-s dubê[-na-man] su-a-lla-man gîpanu-sâ-ssena*, "my brother has often given letters" (II, 20); *ûminna-sa su-ani-a-sa-mma-man*, "all countries" (II, 96); AZAG-GI *su-a-ssena*, "much gold" (II, 60); *sueni tîpêna*, "many words" (I, 73). The first of these passages illustrates the use of

*î-a-lle-nin* and *uri*; wherever they are found, and the sense of the context is clear, the significations which best suit them are those of "mutually" and "to write." The signification of the verb *êmanâmu* is fixed by III, 54, *passi-khippi êmanâmu-sâu î-a-lla-nin*, "messages I interchanged together"; see also IV, 30, *êmanam-kha tanu-sâu*, "interchange I made."

Three verbs which are associated closely together (as in IV, 23) are *khas*, *pal* and *urkh*. If *khas* means "to see," "consider," *pal* ought to mean "to hear," and III, 40, 42, seems to show definitely that *khas* is "to see." *Urkh*, as will appear later on, must signify "to understand," or "know." In IV, 45, 46, we have *senippi-ennâ-n etita-nna-man . . . palî-a-mâ-sse-man urukku*, "and he had heard the aforesaid thing belonging to thy brother, as it was written."

I also hesitated long over *guru*, which introduces sentences, thinking at first that it might be "behold." But a comparison of passages finally made it evident that only "again" would suit them all; see, for example, III, 39. In I, 45, we find *gurû-[sa]*, "he repeated" (?); cf. also *gurû-pi* (IV, 42).

Another word of which it is difficult to fix the meaning is *pir(u)*. In my former Paper I translated it "to send." This, however, is certainly not its signification, and the meaning which best suits all the passages in which it occurs is "to receive," "to be present at." But I do not see what is its force in the compound word *piratartippi* (II, 27).

*Makanna* must signify "present"; see II, 54, *makanni-ppi-û-nna gipânê-ta*, "he gave a present to me," III, 58, *ammatippi-u-s atta-ippi-u-s atta-ipp-a pêpi makanna gipânu-lu-stâ-ssena*, "my grandfather (and) my father to thy father then gave presents."

*Pikhru* is associated with *tadûkaru* (e.g., in IV, 111), and must therefore have a similar meaning. I should propose for it that of "friendship."

*Durubi* must also signify something of the same sort, see I, 15, 17, and III, 111, where *durubê* takes the place of *dubbê*, "letters."

*Isas* is shown by I, 75 to mean "in return," "in turn" ("the *khenni* my brother loves, the *kh*, O brother, in return I love"). We find *isass-ân* in I, 69, and *isa-llan* in III, 54.

The best way of obtaining further light on the vocabulary and grammar of the Mitannian language will be, first to translate and comment on a few passages of which a consecutive rendering can be



given, and then to go through the letter of Dusratta line by line, noting such new words and forms as can be explained or illustrated.

I. (83) Giliassa-n passi-dkhippi-u-s tipi anti gulû-sa  
*And Giliass my messenger a word thus said :*

(84) mannâ-n khilli sen-a-pi-sa-n Nimmurias (85)  
*'And me ask, and thy brother N.*

Mizirrê-pi-ni-s ipris tase apli tanû-sa  
*the Egyptian king kindness (?) . . . has done,*

(86) D.P. Ikhibeni D.P. Simîginê-pi-nê-man  
*the city of Ikhib the city of the god Simiginis*

unû-sa (87) D.P. Simiginê-pi-man ênî-pi atta-  
*he has taken (?), Simiginis the god thy*

î-pi akû-sa (88) attârtî-pi-nâ-man su-a-lla-man  
*father he has brought away, of thy forefathers often*

tasêna (89) tissan tissan gilû-s-u-a zarra-man  
*the kindnesses (?) very much he has . . to me ; . . .*

sênabbe (90) D.P. umini siû-si atinin  
*of thy brothers (?) the country . . . as (?)*

tasen iddû-s-ta (91) sen-a-pa-n\*  
*the kindness (?) mayest thou be pleased, and of thy brother*

etiê-mma-man taseni-pi piri-ta  
*as aforesaid (?) the kindnesses (?) { he has } received*  
*{ I have }*

sîa irkamû-sa-man tissan Giliass  
*do thou return (?) ; and has recounted much G.*

tasenê-pi (93) \* iddummi mâna-n  
*the kindnesses (?) with pleasure (saying), 'and me*

\* Comp. I, 51. *sâla-p-a-n [as]ti-ppi-u-nna ari*, "and send thy sister as a wife to me."

khilli nubenina-n kharri-en (94) nazu-sa atinin D.P.  
*ask: and . . . . . he has . . . as (?)*

Simiginê-pi-nê-mma-man (95) ammû-sa sapûkhâ-tta-n  
*belonging to the god Simiginis he has . . . , and for thy . . .*

tissan atinin (96) tankin kadu-sa î-a-llâ-nin  
*greatly as (?) was wished he has devised ; mutually*

(97) senippi-u-nê-pi D.P. ûminî-pi eruskinna  
*of my brother the countries friendly (?)*

(98) etî[ta] tanâ-ssena î-a-llê-nin (99) senippi-u-s  
*as aforesaid (?) make them ; mutually my brother*

tasenêpi etîta tipêna (100) eruskinna  
*the kindnesses as aforesaid (and) the words friendly (?)*

tanû-sâ-ssena antillân (101) D.P. Simigi[nis] D.P.  
*he has made them thus : may Simiginis*

Amânû-lan D.P. Eâ-sarri-ne-llâ-n (102) senippi-u-a  
*with Amon and Ea the king, of my brother*

D.P. ûminî-pi-a-llâ-n etîta khutanna (103) benti-en  
*of the lands as aforesaid . . . . .*

irsâ-llâ-n sekharî-nâ-llâ-n (104) î-a-llâ-nin  
*desiring them (?) and helping them ; mutually*

senippi-u-s tasênê-pi etîta (105) tipena  
*my brother the kindnesses (?) as aforesaid (and) the words*

tanû-sâ-ssena D.P. Simiginê-pi enîpi (106) atta-î-pi  
*has made them for Simiginis the god thy father*

etîta antillan D.P. Simiginis arêta  
*as aforesaid ; thus Simiginis has sent*

(107) senippi-u-a senippi-u-llâ-n tisânnâ (108) uriâ-ssena  
*to my brother, and my brother much writes*

|        |              |       |                   |        |
|--------|--------------|-------|-------------------|--------|
| tipêna | su-a-lla-man | (109) | tâni-llê-tâ-llâ-n | atinin |
| words  | often        |       | making them       | like   |

manna-lla-man.\*

mine.

Line 91 seems to show that *tasê* must have some such meaning as "kindness" or "favour," but it is unfortunate that the signification of what is a key-word of the whole paragraph should still be so obscure.

*Unû-sa* might also mean "he has built"; but in III, 21, we have *undu-man innu-menin senippi-u-e asti unê-tta*, "and when on my side I selected (?) my brother's wife," and in II, 66, the adverbial *unû-menin* is conjoined with *anzanni*, "joy." *Unû-sta-mân* in II, 110, throws no light on the word, owing to the mutilation of the passage.

The meaning of *akû-sa* is settled by II, 60, *AZAG-GI suassena an-zu-galla akû-sa-nni*, "much gold (and) the a. which he has brought away."

In *attartî-pi-nâ-man* I am doubtful whether the second personal pronoun is to be looked for in the *î* of *attartî* or the *â* of the plural adjectival suffix *-nâ*, or in both.

For *tissan tissan*, the *dannis dannis* of the Assyrian letters, see my former Paper.

For *gilû-s-u-a*, some meaning like "he acknowledged to me," is required. But the proper names Gilu-Khepa (?) "Servant of the

\* If *tasê* really means "acts of kindness" or "favours," the translation of the whole paragraph could be somewhat as follows: "And Gilias my messenger spoke words as follows: 'Ask me, how that thy brother Nimmurias king of Egypt has done an act of kindness(?) . . . ; he took Ikhibe the city of the god Simiginis, and carried away Simiginis thy paternal god, and the many acts of kindness (?) of thy forefathers he indeed recorded to me (?) . . . . . and these acts of kindness (?) of thy brother I have received . . . ' And Gilias described fully the acts of kindness (?) with pleasure (?) (saying): 'Ask me, how that he . . . . . and he devised for thy . . . indeed as was wished.' Mutually make my brother's lands friendly (?) as aforesaid (?); mutually my brother has done acts of kindness (?) as aforesaid and made friendly (?) words, and so may Simiginis and Amon and Ea-sarri of my brother's lands, as aforesaid (?), bestow a blessing (?), with desire (?) and help (?). Mutually my brother has done these acts of kindness (?) and made (these) words for Simiginis thy paternal god as aforesaid, and so Simiginis has sent to my brother, and my brother indeed writes, often making words as I also do."

god Khepa,") and Gilias (? "Thy servant") would make me give the root the signification of "ministering."

*Sen-a-bbe* must be connected with *sen-ippi*, "brother," but I cannot explain the form. For *bbe* = *ppi* see III, 69, where we have *atta-î-bbe-nê-la-n* for *atta-î-ppi-nê-la-n*.

*Siû* must be a verb, perhaps connected with *sini*, "to return," in III, 40.

The exact meaning of the adverb *atinin* is uncertain. If *manna-lla-man* in I. 109 signifies "mine," it would represent the particle "as"; cp. I, 8 [*atin*]in *manna-lla-man attartippi-a-s*, "as mine (so) thy forefathers." But in II, 12-14, we have: *senippi-tâ-mân tipî sukku gulli senippi-u-ss-ana khasien atinin Manen-an senippi-u-[e] passitkhi û-ua inna-ma-nîn nikhari akû . . .* "and to thy brother speak a favourable word, and let my brother see *atinin* Manes also the messenger of my brother on his side bringing to me the dowry from thee," where the sense would rather seem to require, "consider this and Manes."\* Cp. also III, 59. In IV, 120, we find *ati-manin*.

For *iddusta* see III, 11, *undu-man senippi-u-en asti arû-sau iddû-sta-man senippi-ta*, "and when I sent the wife of my brother—and mayest thou be pleased with thy brother—."

For *irkamu* see I, 48, where Knudtzon reads [*irkam*]û-*sa-man ammatippi-[u]-enitan*, "he recounted to my grandfather's . . ."

The root of *ammû-sa* seems to be that of *amma-ti*, "elders."

*Tankin* is written *tâki* in IV, 58, *senippi-u-e-mân asti anni arû-sau-sse tâki-man anti mânni*, "and I sent accordingly (?) the wife of my brother, and thus it was my wish"; in line 60 the spelling is *tânki*.

For *kadû-sa* see IV, 30, 31, *undu-man î-a-llê-nîn tipêna su-a-lla-man senippi-u-s kadû-sa-ssena uriâ-ssena*, "and since my brother has often devised (?) words together (and) writes them."

*Umini-pi-a-lla-n* in line 102 agrees with *Amanu-lan* and *Ea-sarri-ne-lla-n*, the *a* after *pi* being the second personal pronoun, as in *attartippi-a-s*, "thy forefathers," and the *-lla-n* denoting the plural suffix.

The plural *khutanni-ppi-a-s* occurs in IV, 116, in conjunction with *sekharni-ppi-a-s*, but the place of *irsa* is taken by *sârillitta*, "desired." Can *ir-sa* be another form of *sa-ri*? *Sekhar* has the same root as *sekhru-s*, for which see IV, 119.

\* Perhaps we should translate: "see how (it is) and Manes."

The precativè *benti-en* may be connected with *ben[n]upi-u-s* in II, 78, but it more probably is to be identified with the stem of *bete-stê-tta* (III, 29), *n* being omitted before the dental as in *tâki* for *tânkin*.

The grammatical construction of the last sentence seems to be that of a sort of ablative absolute: "and my brother indeed—he writes words often—having made them." *Tâni-llê-tâ-llâ-n* is a compound of the perfect tense *tanillê-ta*, and the suffixes *la* and *n*, *tanillê* itself being a derivative conjugation in *-llê*, like *sâri-lli-tta* quoted above, and *-llâ-n* representing the plural suffix "them."

*Mânnâ-lla-man* is literally "myself-them," i.e., "(as) I [make] them." The use of the word here explains its composition elsewhere.

III. (35) undu-mân      atta-ippi-u-ên      sâla      êli-ppi  
*And when      of my father's      daughter,      the sister*

mânê-mma-man (36) dubbe    dubbi-mân    nikhârî-pi  
*of myself,      letter    after letter    about the dowry,*

mânê-mma-man    dubbe    (37)    ammati-ppi-u-ên  
*(viz.) from myself    letters    (and) of my grandfather's*

sâla    atta-ippi-u-e    êla    (38)    mânê-mma-man  
*daughter,    of my father    the sister,      from myself*

dubbe    dubbi-man    nikhârî-pi    mâne-mma-man  
*letter    after letter    about the dowry,    (viz.) from myself*

(39)    guru    dubbe    ara-nnê-ni-lan    sênippi-u-s  
*again    letters    having been sent,    my brother*

dubbi - a - s    (40)    sinia - senâ - mma - man  
*(thy?) letters      returns them,*

     khasê-ni-llâ-n    sù-pi-man    dubbe  
*and when I had seen them      many      letters*

(41)    nikharrê-pi    arû-sau-ssenê-pi    ara-nne-nna-man  
*about the dowry      I sent them,      and the sending*

(42)    senippi-u-s    khasenna-n.  
*let my brother      consider it.*

*Arrannê-ni-lan* is a gerundive like *khasê-ni-llân*, the plain English of the sentence being: "And when letter after letter, even letters from me had been sent about the dowry of my father's daughter, my sister, and letter after letter, even letters from me, about the dowry of my grandfather's daughter, my aunt, my brother sent letters in reply." In *dubbi-a-as* the infixed pronoun would seem more naturally to be "his" than "thy"; perhaps, however, it is not the pronoun at all, but a suffix like that in *Masri-â-nni*, "Egyptian," or *su-a-sse-na*, "many."

The context gives us the sense of the verb *sin-ia*, and appears to settle the meaning of the verb *khas*. In fact the only other signification *khas* could have here would be that of "reading," and this is excluded by other passages like II, 13 (where indeed "hear" would seem the most natural rendering), and II, 7, where *Gilian Manenna-n khasû-sau* can only be "I have seen Gilias and Manes."

- |           |                               |                                |                   |                                  |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| III. (49) | sênippi-tâ-man                | tipi                           | sukku             | gulli                            |
|           | <i>And to thy brother</i>     | <i>a word</i>                  | <i>favourable</i> | <i>speak,</i>                    |
|           | senippi-u-ssa-n               | khasien                        | (50)              | senippê-n                        |
|           | <i>and let my brother</i>     | <i>consider</i>                |                   | <i>thy brother,</i>              |
|           | attarti-ppi-tan               | tissanna-man                   |                   | anzannûkhu-sâu                   |
|           | <i>and to thy forefathers</i> | <i>greatly</i>                 |                   | <i>I have given joy</i>          |
| (51)      | tata-raskae                   | anam-mân                       |                   | anzannûkhu-sâu                   |
|           | <i>from affection,</i>        | <i>and so</i>                  |                   | <i>I have caused to give joy</i> |
|           | gulli-mân                     | (52)                           | î-a-llê-nin       | D.P. Artatâmas                   |
|           | <i>the speaking</i>           |                                | <i>together</i>   | <i>A.</i>                        |
|           | animatippi-u-s                | atta-î-pa                      | (53)              | etita                            |
|           | <i>my grandfather</i>         | <i>to thy father</i>           |                   | <i>as aforesaid (?)</i>          |
|           | tipêna                        |                                |                   | <i>words</i>                     |
|           | tanû-sâ-ssena                 | udirru-sâ-nna-lla-man          | (54)              | isa-llan                         |
|           | <i>made-them</i>              | <i>and as he added to them</i> |                   | <i>in return</i>                 |
|           | sukka-nnê-lla-man             | passi-khippi                   |                   | êmanâmu-sâu                      |
|           | <i>favourable ones</i>        | <i>messages</i>                |                   | <i>I interchanged</i>            |
| (55)      | î-a-llâ-nin                   | guru                           | atta-ippi-u-s     | pêpi                             |
|           | <i>together.</i>              | <i>Again</i>                   | <i>my father</i>  | <i>on day that</i>               |
|           |                               |                                |                   | (56) tipêna                      |
|           |                               |                                |                   | <i>words</i>                     |



|               |                           |                          |
|---------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| tanû-sâ-ssena | anti-lla-n                | sukka-nnê-lla-man        |
| <i>made,</i>  | <i>similarly (adding)</i> | <i>favourable ones ;</i> |

|                   |                  |                       |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (57) passi-khippi | isa-s            | êmanâmu-sâu           | î-a-llâ-nîn      |
| <i>messages</i>   | <i>in return</i> | <i>I interchanged</i> | <i>together.</i> |

|                       |                        |                      |
|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (58) ammati-ppi-u-s   | atta-ippi-u-s          | atta-î-pa            |
| <i>My grandfather</i> | <i>(and) my father</i> | <i>to thy father</i> |

|                   |                 |                      |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| pê-pi             | makanna         | gipânu-lû-stâ-ssena. |
| <i>on the day</i> | <i>presents</i> | <i>gave.</i>         |

We should have expected *sukku-pi* in line 49 ; in II, 70, and IV, 52, we have *suka* used adverbially—"let my brother send Manes kindly."

*Tâtaraskæ* is a compound of *tâta*, "to love," and in III, 107, we read, "(Immurias) has given gold to Dusratta (*tâtaraskæ*) in a friendly way," "as a mark of affection."

In line 55 *etî-pi* must clearly be the demonstrative, which throws light on the form *etî-ta*.

*Iallanin* would more naturally be here interpreted "with thee," but its use elsewhere forbids our doing this. Why we should have *iallê-nîn* in line 52, and *iallâ-nîn* in lines 55 and 58 is hard to explain. It will be noticed that as the adverb *anti* takes the suffixes *lla-man*, the verb is omitted.

*Gipanu-lu* is a compound, though whether the second part of it is *lu* or *ulu* it is impossible to say. Another compound of *lu* is *khîsûkhu-lu-khu* (I, 110). See note on IV, 60.

I will now run through the whole letter line by line, noting words and forms upon which light may be thrown, and which I have not mentioned before :—

Column 1, line 8, must read: [*atîni*]*n mâнна-lla-man attartippi-a-s* "as mine, so your ancestors." *Mâнна-la-man* is literally "myself-them-also."

11. As I remarked in my former paper, the spelling of the proper name *Mur-pi-u-khe-ni-e-pi-na* by the side of *Mur-ru-u-khe-ni-e-pi* in line 14, shows that 𐎧𐎶 *pi* must sometimes have the value of *w*. I still adhere to the belief that Murrukhe is the Urrakhi-nas of Tiglath-pileser I.

15. *Durubinni* is the accusative of a noun which seems to mean "alliance," or something similar : see III, 114, 116, 118, 121.

19. *Tâdû-kârîê* is the participle, "loving Murrukhe" (*Mur-w-u-khe-e-en*).

44. *Tânu-sta-au*, "may I make," the present of the precativè.

47. Read: *guru at[ta-ippî]-u-e Suttarnâ-pî sâla*, "again, the daughter of Suttarna, my father."

51. *Sâlapa-n patipî-ânna ari* appears to be: "Send thy daughter as my consort." In IV, 33, *pâti* must be a preposition, *tisâ-man sênippi-u-e sukkannen pâti tipênên khîsûkhu-ppi astin sênippi-u-e arû-san*, "indeed in accordance with my brother's favourable words . . . a wife to my brother I sent." The compound *niru-patae* also is an adverb, which Prof. Jensen would render "often," but which is rather "soon." We find also *dubbu-pâtu* and *paldû-pâte*, III, 48. The meaning is "likeness," "accordance," see note on IV, 33.

63. *Sû-a-nna-man* probably has the same meaning as *sû-a-lla-man*, "many times." The termination is the same as that of *tissan(na)*, "indeed," and *uaduranna*, "more," which in I, 65, appears as *uaduranni-mân*. They really are accusatives used adverbially.

67. *Sû-sa*, "has multiplied."

69. *Isass-ân mâna sueni sue anti*, "and in return multiply (it) much to me thus." The reference is to the *khenni*, of which in line 65 it is said: "O brother [cause] it to be sent, and more [than before send it]."

|                      |                   |              |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (71) [Attar]tippi-ra | tâtau-ssena-su-ra | Manê-lla-man |
| Thy ancestors        | I love them all,  | and Manes    |

|                      |                      |           |       |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------|
| (72) passitkhipi-u-s | pirû-sâ-llâ-n        | (73) mâna | sueni |
| my messenger         | having received them | for me    | many  |

tipêna tânu-sâu-ssena.  
words I made.

In *tâtau-ssena-su-ra su*, "many," is attached to the verb as it is to the substantive in *ênippi-su-s*, "gods."

*Manê-lla-man* is literally "Manes-them (i.e. the *khenni*) -also."

*Pirû-sa-llân* is the third person singular of the aorist with the plural suffix referring to the *khenni*.

74, 75. The adverbs *inû-tlâ-nûn* and *inû-mê-nûn* must clearly mean "on thy (part my brother loves the *khenni*), on my (part, O brother, I love the *kh.*)," thus establishing the equivalence of *ta* and *me* with the second and first personal pronouns. Perhaps we

should read *wê* instead of *mê*. In III, 3, *inû-n* must mean either "now" or "then."

76. What is the exact force of the suffix *ti* in [*a*]*nammi-ti-llâ-n*, *Amânû-ti-la-n*, I cannot say. We find it again in IV, 117-122 (*sine-ti-lla-man*, *Amânû-ti-lla-n*, *manna-ti-lla-man*, &c.) In the letter from Dunip *amma-ti* denotes the plural "elders," *ammati-pi* the singular "forefather." The sense of the present passage seems to be: "therefore may Tessupas (and) Sauskas, along with Amon, Siniginis (and) Ea-sarri (love thee)."

78. *Tisi-a-sa-n* is evidently from the same root as *tissan*, and we should naturally expect it to be an epithet of *ên-a-sus*, "the great gods." But in this case the final *-n* would be inexplicable. I should therefore render it "(the gods) who magnify him" (or "it"). For the form cp. *istanî-a-sa* (III, 110).\*

80. *Ûra-u-sâ-ssenâ-man tipê*, "he writes-to-me-them-also even words." But it is possible that instead of *u* representing the infixed first pers. pronoun, we have a present tense with the affixed third pers. pronouns singular and plural, "I write-to-him-them."

81. I can offer no explanation of *istanî-ppi-sa* which here follows *pikhrunnên*, "friendship," as in II, 65, it follows *tipêna*, "words." It occurs again in III, 108, IV, 122, 123, and in III, 110, *istanî-a-sa* is in agreement with *ûmîni-ppi-â-s*, "thy lands" (cf. II, 70). In II, 80, *etippi-sa* takes the place of *istanippi-sa* after *tipêna*.†

*Aggus agûa* means, I believe, "friend to friend." In II, 86, we have the compound *agû-kara-sti-en*, "may he honour him," the second element in the verb being the same as in *tadu-karu*, "to love," and in IV, 123, *aggus-ân agûe*. It is doubtful whether *aggutan* in II, 61, is the same word, as it may be the *aqqâti* of the Assyrian letters of Dusratta.

110. If *khišuklu* means "likeness," we might translate *tipênê-pi sênippi khišuklu-lu-klu*, "I have replied in similar words, O brother."

*Surâma*, like *surama-sti-en*, is from *su*, "much," and answers to the *kabbâdu* of the Assyrian letters of Dusratta. For *benta* see above, note on I, 103. In I, 45, we read *bennâ-n dumûien*, "blessing (?) (and) friendship (?) " (see II, 59).

\* *Tisias-an* may however be used adverbially in the sense of "excessively."

† The meaning that would best suit *ista-n-ippi-sa* in all the passages in which it occurs would be "thine," "what is thine"; but how is this to be extracted from the word? "Words of friendship with thee (?) as friend to friend as afore-said (?) mayest thou make very soon." It is possible, however, that *etippi-sa* in II, 80, means "like these"; in this case *istanippi-sa* would be "like . . ."

*I-a-ttaman* is from the same pronominal stem as *i-a-llanin*, and may therefore signify "to one another."

For *itta*, see IV, 53.

114. *Passî-itkhip* for *passi-itkhippi*, perhaps because the next word began with a vowel.

## COL. II.

|                                             |                                            |                                                |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (4) Sênippi-u-s<br><i>My brother</i>        | sur-âmâ-llâ-n<br><i>had magnified them</i> | (5) tissan<br><i>greatly ;</i>                 |
| benta<br><i>a blessing (?)</i>              | i-a-tta-man<br><i>to thee (?)</i>          | tânu-si-kka-ttâ-n<br><i>they (?) will make</i> |
| (6) sênippi-u-enê-pi<br><i>my brother's</i> | astî-pi<br><i>wife</i>                     | inna-mânin<br><i>on her side (?)</i>           |
|                                             | (7) Gilia-n<br><i>Gilias</i>               |                                                |
| Manennâ-n<br><i>and Manes</i>               | khasû-sau<br><i>I have seen</i>            | itta-ssa.<br><i>with her (?)</i>               |

10. We must notice the suffixes of *senippi-u-e-nenn-ukhkha* *tisânn-ukhkha*. The suffix in *sini-berukhkkena*, "of ivory" (II, 59), denotes an adjective.

18. *Piratartippi* seems to be a compound of *pîr* and *attartippi*, but the signification is obscure. Perhaps it signifies "family." *Duppa-ssena* ought to be their "letters."

|                                                  |                                          |                                       |                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (12) Sênippi-tâ-mân<br><i>And to thy brother</i> | tipi<br><i>words</i>                     | sukku<br><i>favourable</i>            | gulli<br><i>speak,</i>               |
| sênippi-u-ssana<br><i>and may my brother</i>     | (13) khasi-en<br><i>see</i>              | atinîn<br><i>how it is (?)</i>        | Manêna-n<br><i>and Manes</i>         |
| sênippi-u-[e]<br><i>my brother's</i>             | (14) passitkhi<br><i>messenger</i>       | ûna<br><i>to me (?)</i>               | inna-mânin<br><i>on his part (?)</i> |
| nikhâri<br><i>the dowry</i>                      | akû . . .<br><i>bringing,</i>            | (15) uaduranni-man<br><i>and more</i> | sênippi-u-s<br><i>my brother</i>     |
| makânnippi . . .<br><i>presents</i>              | (16) gipânû-sa-sse.<br><i>has given.</i> |                                       |                                      |

29. *Dûpu-si*, "written" or "despatched."

52. *Enna-su-s nakki-d-û-pt-en*, "may the gods treat me well." The second element in the compound *nakki-du* is found elsewhere, but its signification is unknown to me. Cp. *enna-su-s nakki-t-en*, "may the gods treat thee well" (IV, 117).

18-22. *Dubbe khillu-si-ttâ-n Manê-ta î-a-llênîn senippi-u-s dube-[naman] su-allaman gipânû-sâ-ssena î-a-llênîn duppa-kuskhena sù-allaman senippi-[u-s] gipânû-sâ-ssena*, "and to Manes, asking for letters between us my brother often gave letters (and) between us my brother often gave papyrus-letters(?)." The meaning I have attached to the compound *duppa-kuskh-ena* is purely hypothetical, but it may possibly correspond with the Assyrian *livu*.

56. *Anammi-lla-n undu sênippi-ta gulu-sau palî-[ta]*, "that when I spoke to a brother, he should hear." This seems to fix the meaning of the root *pal*. *Anammi-lla-n* would be more literally "and with the result."

57. *Undu-man Manenna-man senippi-u-e passit[khippi]*. It will be noticed that the accusative *Manenna* takes the same adverbial suffix as *undu*. Does this mean that it is governed by *undu*? I do not see otherwise what is the construction.

58. *Agu-kara-sti-en*, "may he honour him"; for the compound see above, line 81. *Dube-na[-man] dumni isikhkhena sin-siniberukkhena . . . AZAG-GI su-a-ssena anzugalla akû-sâ-nni inû-pi[-na?]-nîn*, "letters of friendship (?) and *isikhkhena* of ivory . . . much gold (and) *anzugalla* he brought away on his part (?)." *Anzugalla* is, I believe, borrowed from Assyrian. Perhaps it is the precious stone AN-ZA-GUL of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. If the reading were certain, *inû-pi-na-nîn* would represent the third person of the adverb of which *inû-menin* and *inû-ta-nîn* are the first and second.

61. If *ansu-a-[ma]-tan* is the same word as *mansû-tillan* (I, 77), we should have proof that *m* is sometimes to be read *w*. But II 54, inclines me to read *andû-âma-ttan*.

65. Read *Amânû[-lla-n]*: "And Tessupas with Amon made words."

68, 69. *Mur-w-u-khe-en û[mini] Masri-â-ni-man ûmîni anû-ta-ni-lla[n]*, "the land of Mitanni and the land of Egypt." Here *-man* is evidently the copulative conjunction *-n*. With *anû-tani-lla-[n]* comp. *anû-a-man* (I, 110). The second element in the compound is *tân*, "to make."

71, 72. Read *Masri-â-nnê-pi[û]minnê-pi ip[rinn-]i senippi-e-nna-n Murwukhe-nê-p û[m]innê-pi ip[rinn]i*, "the king of Egypt and thy

brother the king of Mitanni." The suffix *-pi* is used because the two countries have already been named in the previous sentence.

73, 74. Notice the contrast of *i-â-lan* and *i-a-ti-lan*.

75. *Tipêna talamena*, "interpreting words."

76. *Us* (?) *-tânû-sta*, "may (the gods) make . . ." must be a compound *tanu* and *us* (?).

77. *Ennippi-[a]-se-n Tessûbbe Amânûe*, "and thy gods T. (and) A."(?); *-se* appears to be the oblique case of the plural.

78. *Bennûppi-u-s*, "my benefactors" (?).

|      |                    |              |      |                |              |
|------|--------------------|--------------|------|----------------|--------------|
| (82) | Ta[n]in            | [ûl]la       | (83) | umînna         | sû-allaman   |
|      | <i>May he make</i> | <i>to my</i> |      | <i>country</i> | <i>often</i> |

|  |                          |      |                   |              |
|--|--------------------------|------|-------------------|--------------|
|  | senippi-u-[s-an]         | (84) | sukka-nnê-pi-a-n  | tipî-pi-a-n  |
|  | <i>(even) my brother</i> |      | <i>favourable</i> | <i>words</i> |

|  |                      |                           |      |                  |
|--|----------------------|---------------------------|------|------------------|
|  | etîtan               | [s]ê[n]ippi-[u-sa]-man    | (85) | tâdu-kârrê       |
|  | <i>as aforesaid,</i> | <i>and, O my brother,</i> |      | <i>love (me)</i> |

atînîn manna-tta-man.

*as I (love) thee.*

With *tâdu-kârrê atînîn* [*m*]ânnattaman comp. III, 65, *anammitta-man tâdu-kârrê-pi atînîn mânnâ-t[ta]-man*, "and so I love thee as myself."

87. *Dubb-û-nni*, "my letter." *Arû-si*, "the sending of it," like *passu-si* (III, 1).

91. *Manenna-man mânnukku âlu-mb-û-sse*, "I treat Manes as myself" (?).

92, 93. *Atinîn sênippi-e-n tâdu-kâris sura*, "loving (him) as thy brother magnify (him)."

96. Read [*an*]su-â-ni.

97. *Umînippi-â-n*, "thy country" like *sukkannê-pi-an tipî-pi-an* in line 84, unless we should read here *-wan* for *-pian*.

98, 99. *Pazi-mân î-mma-man pîrû-sau-sse*, "an embassy from thee I received" (?). [*Id*] *-dummi î-u-mmî-mma-man ûmînippi tanu-sa-sse*, "joy (?) between our (?) lands he made." In *î-u-mmî-mma-man* the first suffix is that of [*id*] *du-mmi*; perhaps *î-u* is "thou-I," i.e., "our."

105. *Sû-pi-a-n tipî-ppi-a-n guli-a[ma]*, "thy many words she had said."



106. *Urkhî* can signify either "to know" or "to wish," or "to think." In IV, 29, it is followed by *palta* and *khasâ-si-lli*, "when he had heard thee," "when he had seen everything." Perhaps the best rendering would be "to understand"—*urkhen pâla guli-âma pâ[li]-man urkha guli-â[ma]*, "let him understand what he hears, he had said; and hear (and) understand, he had said."

Col. III, 1. *Sênippi-u-ssa-n astî sârû-sa* D.P. [*Mi?*]*sirrê-[pi] pas[su-si]*, "and my brother desired a wife, an Egyptian (?), to be sent to him."

2. *Undu-mân arû-sâu-n iddû-sta-mân senip[pi-ta]*, "and when I sent her, and may it be pleasing to thy brother."

5. Read *mânni-mma-ma[u] : tadu-khkhû-li-kki-nna-n atinîn mânni-mma-man*, "thou wilt love her as myself." *Tadu-khkhû-li* is a compound of *tâdu*. *I-â-n* corresponds with *i-â-lan* in II, 73.

7-10. *Senippi-u-eni-s astis senippi-ta tikhanû-lu-mâ-sseni sueni*, "my brother's wife made payments (?) many to thy brother." The compound *gipânu-lu* (III, 59), shows that the signification of *lu* is connected with that of "giving," while *tikhannu* in III, 27 is associated with *nikhâri*, "dowry."

*Napi-uggun* is a compound of *napi* (IV, 15), and a word which is found in the compound *ullukh-uggun* (II, 104).\*

Perhaps we should translate *andûê suenê piri-kkûnni atinîn manni-mma-man marâ-dur[k]una-n atinîn manni-mma-man*, "(pre-sents ?) of many kinds I will receive like mine, and I will increase ten times more than mine." "Ten times more" is a favourite expression of Dusratta in his Assyrian letters.

13-16. *Senippi-u-ssâ-n pirê-ta arû-mâ-ssu-khikha . . . nikhari-man guru senippi-u-s pirê-ta arû-si-mbû-s-kha*, "and my brother has received what I sent (to him), the dowry . . . again my brother has received her whom I sent (to him)." *Arû-si-mbû-s-kha* is shown by *uri-mbû-ssu-khikha* (III, 95) to stand for *arû-si-mbû-su-kha* ("sender-I-belonging-to"). *Khikha* in *arû-mâ-ssu-khikha* is merely a variant spelling of *-ssu-khikha*, like *epirni* (IV, 128) for *epirinni*.

(17) *Sênippi - u - â - llâ - n*      (18) *gipânu - sâu - ssena*  
*To my brother*      *I gave them*

*gipânu-sâu-lla-man*      *pirê-tâ-llâ-n*      (19) *sênippi-u-s*  
*and when I gave them*      *he received them*      *even my brother*

\* With *ullukh* comp. *ûlûkhâ-ti-lan* (III, 16), and *ûlu[kh]ê-tta* (IV, 60).

unâlan (20) sênippi-u-a. tikhaniskha-la-n.  
*from me (?) to my brother offering (?) them.*

Here the relation of the verbal forms in *-sau* and *-ta* to one another is very clear, as well as that of *man* and *-n*.

(21, 22) Undu-man inna-mê-nîn senippi-u-e asti  
*And when on my side (?) my brother's wife*

unêtta inna-mânîn sênippi-ta tikhanû-llê-tta.  
*I took (and) on thy side to thy brother payment was made(?).*

Perhaps the last words should be translated "on her side to thy brother she made payment."

(26, 27) Pîratênâ-n passidkhêna sù-allaman  
*And after being received messengers often*

dubbu-la-in tikhâni-ti-nâ-n sênippi-ta  
*may they despatch, and to be paid to thy brother*

nikharîn.  
*the dowry.*

*Dubbu-la-in* is the 3rd person plur. of the precativè, as is shown by *pallu-in* in IV, 64. The meaning is determined by the context. See III, 100.

(31) Pîratêna sù-alla-man passîtkhêna sù-alla-man  
*Arrivals often and messages often*

(32) ûllan umînna sù-alla-man mari-â-nna-rti-lan  
*from my (?) country often . . . .*

(33) sênippi-u-s ûriâ-ssena pisaina-n sênippi  
*my brother writes of them ; and now, O brother,*

(34) betestê-na-n nikhâri sirennâ-n.  
*mayest thou . . . a dowry plentiful.*

*Pîratêna* is opposed to *passîtkhêna* as a message that is received to one that is sent. The form of the word is the same as that of *ammati*, "elders." *Pisainan* is connected with *pessân* (III, 68), and *sirennâ-n* with *sêrrê-pî-n* (III, 67).

(44) Aiin ullui êlartippi-u-enâsê-mma-man  
*Now to me (?) of my eldest sister*

(45) nikhari-âse dubbias dubbukku senippi-e-nna-n  
*about the dowry letters were written, and thy brother*

(46) etita-nna-man simiki pali-amâ-sse-mân  
*as aforesaid . . . he had heard*

urukku (47) paliâ-lla-man etita-ni-lla-man  
*as it was written (?), and hears them as aforesaid*

senippi-u-s (48) dubbu-patâ-lla-man î-in iprenna-sus  
*my brother, replying (?) to them as (?) kings*

paldu-pâte  
*after hearing (?)*

*Elartippi-u-enâ-sê* is noun + infixed 1 pers. pron. + plural suffix + adjectival suffix agreeing with *dubbias*, where the *a* may represent the infixed 2 pers. pron. *Paldu-pâte* is an adverb, *paldu* being probably a compound of *pal* and *du*; cf. *palta* (IV, 29); *pâte* is found in *niru-patae*.

59. *Sekhrâ-lla-man*, "helping them" (?); the same word as *sekhrus-tillâ-n* (IV, 119), and probably also as *sekhar-ni-ppi-a-s* (IV, 116). It seems to agree with *atta-i-ippa*.

60. Notice the agreement of *sû-pi-nâ-s-û-nna* ("my-many") with *puddû-kki-a-s-û-nnâ-lla-n*.

62-65. The sense may be: "And so to thee, even to my brother, I gave them, as to myself." In this case Prof. Jensen will be right in seeing in *tâdu-kârrê-pi* (or better *tâdu-kârrê-wa*) the 1st pers. sing. of a verb. *Urkh-ubdu-si-li-pi* is a compound of *urkhi*. The suffix *-li* is identical with that in *gipanu-lu-llê-pi-â-tta-n* (? "give-together-I-thee-to-also.")

(66) Issinan sênippi-u-s attârtippi-û-nna  
*As formerly my brother my forefather(s)*

khîruxkhkhae (67) irnukhu-si-ama sêrrê-pî-n  
*for gold had asked, (and) a quantity*

AZAG-GI atta-ippi-u-s ammatippi-u-a (68) uaduranna  
*of gold my father than my grandfather more*

gipânû-sâ-sse      pêssâ-n      atta-ippi-u-a      (69)      uaduranna  
                  gave,                   so now                   than my father                   more

gipânû-ssû-sse                   tea                   atta-î-bbe-nê-ta-n  
                  have I given                   afterwards                   and for thy father's

. . . anna-man      supi-man      senippi-u-s      irnûkhu-si-âma  
                  . . .                   much                   my brother                   had asked

(71)      atta-ippi-u-enê-nna                   gipânû-sâ-sse  
                  that belonged to my father,      (and) he (my father) gave it ;

senippi-u-ttan      (72)      subi-âma-sti-en  
                  and to my brother                   may it be plentiful

*Pêssân* is probably a compound of *pê*, "day," and *iss*-[*inan*].

(74, 75)      Senippi-u-ssâ-n      ullui      tipippi      sukku  
                  And may my brother      to me      words      favourable

tana-sti-en                   tisippê-nnên                   (76)      khiśûkhipi-a-en  
                  make,                   and a splendid                   likeness (?)

sâli-ppi-u-en                   senippi-u-cnê-pi                   astî-pi  
                  of my daughter                   my brother's                   wife

(77)      [senippi]-u-s                   ZA-LAM-si                   khiarukhkhe  
                  may my brother,                   even her image                   of gold

nakkassa . . .      (78)      . . . tâna-sti-en  
                  pure (?)                   make

*Tisi-ppi* must have the same root as *tissan*, for *khiśûkhu-s* see II, 52. We find the verb *khiśûkhu-lû-khu* in I, 110—*tipênê-pi sênippi khiśûkhu-lû-khu*, "I have said similar words, O brother" (?) For *tea* see below IV, 2.

86. *Sâru-si-mbû[-nnu]-khhha tisippi-û-nnu-khhha*, "which I have desired, which is splendid for me."

87, 88. Notice the construction: *attârtippi-tan tissani-[ttan]* . . . *subi-ama-sti-eni-tan*, "and to thy forefathers indeed may it have been plentiful-to-them."

*Senippi-u-s ûmini-ppi-u-a piri-ta*, "my brother received from my country."

91. *Ia-mênin etippi palâu senippi-u-s teunae tissan tissan tatiâ-ssa*,  
 "since (?) this I hear (that) my brother always (?) very much loves  
 her."

(97)      ZA-LAM-SI      sinni-bêru-khkhe      senippi-u-s  
                  *An image*                      *of ivory*                      *may my brother*

ari-en      inû-mênîn      (98)      Ninuâ-pi      Sauskâ-pi  
*send ;*      *on my part*                      *of Nineveh*                      *of Istar*

ênippi-u-a      â(î ?)-ta      (99)      katêtau      khiarukhkhe-man  
*my goddess*      *for thee (?)*                      *I declare*                      *of gold*

ZALAM-si      sûpi      senippi      (100)      dubbu-le-pi  
*an image*      *wholly,*      *O brother,*                      *I despatch*

atinîn      manni-mma-man      . . . (101)      âpiru-enê-ra      teêna  
*as*      *from myself*                      . . .                      . . .

katinna      inu-llê-nîn      (102)      khil[lu-]lê-pi      atinîn  
*description*      *on our parts*                      *I have asked*                      *like*

mannâ-lla-man                      annîn                      ZALAM-si  
                  *mine ;*                      *in regard to (?)*                      *the image*

(103)      khi[aru]khkhe                      nakkase                      Tâdu-khêpan  
                  *of gold*                      *pure (?)*                      *Tadu-khêpa*

manni      Dusratt[â]-pi      (104)      Mittânne-pi      ipripi  
*of me*      *Dusratta*                      *of Mitanni*                      *the king*

sâla      Immuria-pi      (105)      Mizirrê-pi-nê-pi  
*the daughter,*      *of Immurias*                      *of Egypt*

ipripi      astinna      arû-sâ-sse      (106)      Immuriassâ-n  
*the king*      *the wife,*      *one has sent,*                      *and Immurias*

ZALAM-si      tânû-sa      khiarukhkha      nakkassa  
*an image*      *made*                      *of gold*                      *pure (?)*

(107)      Dusrattâ-pi-man      gipânû-sa      tâta-raskae  
                  *and to Dusratta*                      *gave*      *as a mark of affection.*

The earlier part of this translation is necessarily only conjectural.  
 And as I have already remarked, there is still a doubt in my mind

as to whether *manni* denotes the first or the third person. Regarding it as the first person, we should expect *aru-sau* rather than *aru-sa* in line 105, and the only way out of the difficulty is to translate *aru-sa* impersonally.

*Katêtan* and *kati-nna* have the same root as *kati-llê-ta*, "he conversed with," "addressed." Perhaps in *katê-t-au* we have the suffixed second personal pronoun; perhaps it is a combination of what I have called the perfect, and the present tenses (*katê-ta* and *katau*),—"I am speaking to my brother of an image, wholly of gold, of Istar of Nineveh."

The verbal suffix of *dubbu-lê* is the same as that which we find in *khillu-lê*, *kati-llê*, &c., and which is, I believe, related to that of *khasû-si-llî* (IV, 29) and the common suffix *-lla*. For its signification see III, 26.

*Annîn* must be related to *an-ti*, "thus," and *anni* (IV, 58).

115. We must notice the attachment of the adverbial *mânîn* to the verbal *uru-lê-pi*, "many favourable treaties (*durubî-pi*), as afore-said, in a letter I have written them."

|       |                    |                             |       |                       |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| (116) | Urû-pi-en          | passet-î-ta-n               | (117) | senippi-ta            |
|       | <i>The writing</i> | <i>when I had sent also</i> |       | <i>to thy brother</i> |

|  |              |                   |                        |
|--|--------------|-------------------|------------------------|
|  | gipânêta-man | sênippi-u-s       | Masri-â-ni             |
|  | <i>gave</i>  | <i>my brother</i> | <i>of the Egyptian</i> |

|       |              |                  |                       |             |
|-------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| (118) | umini        | nûli             | sukka-nni-mân         | sueni       |
|       | <i>lands</i> | <i>the . . .</i> | <i>and favourable</i> | <i>many</i> |

durubi-ip[pi?]  
*treaties*

That is, "my brother gave to thy brother, when he had sent the writing, the *nûli* of the lands of Egypt."

*Passet-i-ta-n* is the 1st (or possibly the 3rd) pers. of the perfect with the dative suffix agreeing with *senippi-ta*.

120, 121. *Talimtena ûmini talimtena durûpa*, "interpreters for thy country, interpreters for thy treaty." For *talami*, "dragoman," see IV, 37. In my former Paper I suggested that the word may be a corruption of the Assyrian *turgumannu* (from *ragâmu*). *Talimtena* agrees in form with *pîra-t-êna* (III, 26).



## COL. IV.

- (1) Tipê-man sukku sênippi-ta gulli  
*And words favourable to thy brother speak,*
- sênippi-u-â-n (2) â-î-ta tipi surpi  
*and to my brother even to thee (?) words corresponding*
- tea kati-kkû-nni mânnu-kka-llâ-n (3) anti  
*afterwards (?) I will utter, and when I thus*
- ûnu-kka-la-n talame-nê-pi â-î-ta ipri . . .  
*have taken translations for thee (?) O king, . . .*
- (4) surpi tipi katis khillu-si-n  
*corresponding words uttering a question*
- khillu-si-kkû-[n]ni (5) sênippi-ta etippi-u-e  
*I will ask. To thy brother things relating to me*
- nîru-patae gulû[s]â-tta-n (6) nîru-patae khasû-  
*soon he has said, soon I have*
- sau-nna-n guru sênippi-u-s tipêna  
*considered them.\* Again my brother words*
- (7) tanû-sa-ssa napi-â-n talama senippi-u-s  
*has made and thy text (?) interpreting my brother*
- ninû-s-û-a auârkhenâ-sa-man giû-sa†  
*has added (?) for me, and copies (?) of it he has . . . ,*
- âaddu-sta-man (9) khasû-saû-n kaśśandu-sî-tta-n  
*and may he . . . I have seen it . . . .*
- ai-mâ-nin (10) senippi-u-s anam tânu-sî-pi-a-llâ-nni  
*since (?) my brother thus the making of it*
- khiśu-si-llê-ttâ-n  
*has caused to be like (?)*

\* *I.e.*, "As soon as (thou hast) spoken to thy brother of what relates to me, so soon I have seen it."

† We have *giû-man* in I, 61.

The meaning I have assigned to *surpi* is of course only a conjecture derived from the context. As for *tea*, its signification seems to be settled by a comparison of this passage with III, 69.

The general sense appears to show that in the case of the verb the suffix *-ku* has, at all events at times, the meaning of the 1st pers. sing. of the future tense. I am doubtful whether *-ni* is the suffix of the 3rd pers. pron. referring to *tipi*, or the adjectival suffix *-ni*.

The verbal noun *khillu-si-n* proves that here *-si* is a formative suffix, and not the infixed 3rd pers. pronoun. In line 11, where the word follows the verb, the case-ending is dropped.

*Niru-patae* is a compound of *niru*, which we find in the adverb *niru-sae* (IV, 38). For the meaning of it see below on IV, 33. In IV, 62, *nêri-ppi* has the determinative of woman before it. We have *nirise* in IV, 43. The final *-n* of *gulu[s]â-tta-n* and *khasû-sau-anna-n* is the copula—"also," "also."

*Napi* is the first element in the compound *napi-uggun* (III, 8). See above.

Notice the form *tânu-sî-pi-a-llâ-nni* : cp. *khasâ-si-pi-a-en* in l. 20.

12, 13. *Katia-mân sênippi sênânnæ mânnî-nin tipi anti*, "I utter, O brother, in a brotherly way on my account (?) words as follows."

14, 15. *Sênippi-s-an ûminî-pi âita napi talama elita tâna-sdu-en*, "and let thy brother make translations as aforesaid for thy country and thyself (?)." I cannot explain *du* instead of *ti* in the verb.\* Notice *napi* instead of the *napi-â*, "thy *n*," of l. 7.

|      |                                      |                                             |                                                             |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (16) | Tipi-a-llâ-n<br><i>And thy words</i> | surpi<br><i>corresponding</i>               | sênippi-ta<br><i>to thy brother</i>                         |
| (17) | kati-kki<br><i>thou shalt utter</i>  | sênippi-ta-man<br><i>and to thy brother</i> | apennê-nin<br>...                                           |
|      | tipi<br><i>Words</i>                 | surpi<br><i>corresponding</i>               | (18) î-â-mma-man<br><i>mutually</i>                         |
|      |                                      |                                             | kati-lê-pi<br><i>I utter in return</i>                      |
|      | sû-pi-nê<br><i>many</i>              | etippi-u-e<br><i>relating to me</i>         | (19) ûminippi-u-e-ne<br><i>(and) relating to my country</i> |

\* But compare *kašsan-du* (IV, 9) by the side of *kašsan-ti* (IV, 44); *ben-du-n* (II, 87) by the side of *benti* (I, 103); *pal-du* (III, 48) by the side of *pal-ta* (IV, 23).

etiê      sênippi-û-llâ-n      tipi      (20)      anênâ-mma-man  
*those; and let my brother words . . . .*

khasâ-si-pi-a-en      ailan      Manes      Gilia-llâ-n  
*consider (them ?) how (?) Manes and Gilias*

guli-âma      i-enâ-mâ-nin      Manes      Gi[1]ia-llâ-n  
*had spoken with one another. Manes to Gilias*

kati-lli-ta      (22)      sû-pi-nê etippi-u-ê      ûmînippi-u-e-nê  
*uttered      { many things relating to me }      { (and) relating to my country }*

etiê      (23)      urkha-llâ-n      pal-ta-la-n  
*those, and he (Gilies) understood, and heard thee,*

khasâ-si-llâ-ini-llâ-n      sênippi-u-s  
*and saw what belonged to them. My brother*

(24)      apennâ-nin      guru      sû-ta      i-a-mma-man  
*thou art . . . . Again much \* mutually*

khillu-lê-pi      (25)      sênippi-u-e-ne      etiê  
*I asked in return relating to my brother those (things)*

ûmîni-pi-ne      etiê      (26)      khasâ-si-pi-a-li-llâ-n  
*{ (and) relating to thy country } those; { and when (Manes) saw what belonged to them }*

Gilies      Manê-llâ-n      (27)      guli-âma      i-e-mâ-nin  
*Gilies to Manes had spoken mutually.*

Gilies      Maness-ân      gule-ta      (28)      sênip-u-e-nê  
*Gilies and Manes said relating to my brother*

etiê      ûmîni-pi-nê      etiê  
*those (things) (and) relating to thy country those*

(29)      urkha-llâ-n      paltâ-la-n      khasâ-si-llî-llâ-n  
*and (Manes) understood and heard thee { and considered everything. }*

\* Or rather perhaps "frequently," since this must be the meaning of *sû-ta-man passu-si* "frequently sending," in I, 50.

*Kati-kk-i* corresponds regularly with *kati-kk-u*, *i* denoting the 2nd person, and *u* the first. Perhaps *î-â-mma-man* is "to thee," while *î-e-mâ-nîn* (line 27) is "to him." *Kati-lê-pi* is evidently the first person, showing that Prof. Jensen is right in making *-pi* (or *-wa*) sometimes the termination of the first person singular. It is, in fact, the first person of the perfect tense, of which *kati-llê-ta* is the third.

*Etippi (etiê)*—*etiê* is equivalent to "some-others." *Sênippi-û-llâ-n* takes the place of *sênippi-u-s* in line 10, proving the grammatical equivalence of the two forms; the suffixed *-lla-n* denotes "them." *An-enâ* is a plural. In *khasâ-si-llâ-ini-llâ-n* the final suffix agrees with *Gilia-lla-n*, *-(i)ni*, which is omitted in *khasa-si-lli-llâ-n* (l. 29), is the adjectival suffix, and *llâ* or *lli* is comitative.

The context seems to require some such meaning as "corresponding" for *sur-pi*, but it may be connected with *surama-sti-en*, "may he honour."

|      |                  |                 |              |              |
|------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| (30) | Undu-mân         | î-a-llê-nîn     | tipêna       | sû-a-lla-man |
|      | <i>And since</i> | <i>mutually</i> | <i>words</i> | <i>often</i> |

|      |                   |                    |                      |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| (31) | sênippi-u-s       | kadû-sâ-ssena      | ûriâ-ssena           |
|      | <i>my brother</i> | <i>devised (?)</i> | <i>(and) writes,</i> |

|             |      |                       |               |                    |
|-------------|------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| antillân    | (32) | êmanam-kha            | tânu-sâu      | tisâ-mân           |
| <i>thus</i> |      | <i>an interchange</i> | <i>I made</i> | <i>exceedingly</i> |

|                      |                   |      |                           |
|----------------------|-------------------|------|---------------------------|
| sênippi-u-e          | sukkannên         | (33) | pati                      |
| <i>of my brother</i> | <i>favourable</i> |      | <i>in accordance with</i> |

|              |                    |                     |                      |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| tipênen      | khišû-khu-si-u-ppi | astin               | sênippi-u-e          |
| <i>words</i> | ....               | <i>(and) a wife</i> | <i>to my brother</i> |

|      |               |                                |                    |         |
|------|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| (34) | arû-sau       | senippi-u-e-nên                | tisânnâ            | sirasse |
|      | <i>I sent</i> | <i>belonging to my brother</i> | <i>exceedingly</i> | ....;   |

|      |                 |              |                      |                       |
|------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (35) | undu-n          | Manêna-n     | sênippi-u-e          | passi-tkhi            |
|      | <i>and when</i> | <i>Manes</i> | <i>of my brother</i> | <i>the messenger,</i> |

|                 |      |               |                       |                    |
|-----------------|------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| undû-n          | (36) | Giliana-n     | Artessupana-n         | Aśalinna-n         |
| <i>and when</i> |      | <i>Gilias</i> | <i>and Artessupas</i> | <i>and Asalis,</i> |

|                        |      |                       |                 |
|------------------------|------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| passi-tkhippi          | (37) | Giliana-n             | talami          |
| <i>the messengers,</i> |      | <i>Gilias (being)</i> | <i>dragoman</i> |

|                   |                      |      |                     |
|-------------------|----------------------|------|---------------------|
| Asálinnâ-n        | dupsarri-ppi-û-nni   | (38) | kipu-sû-ssi         |
| <i>and Asalis</i> | <i>my secretary,</i> |      | <i>servants (?)</i> |

|                        |              |             |      |                |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|------|----------------|
| senippi-ta-lla-n       | nîru-sae     | tissan      | (39) | passu-sâu      |
| <i>of thy brother,</i> | <i>early</i> | <i>very</i> |      | <i>I sent,</i> |

|                            |                  |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| sênippi-u-llâ-n            | pirê-ta          |
| <i>and my brother-them</i> | <i>received.</i> |

*Tisâ-man* takes the place of *tisân(na)*, a fresh proof that *-u* and *-man* have the same sense and signification.

*Pati* here evidently means "in accordance with," "like" ("in accordance with the favourable words of my brother"). Hence I should render *patippi* in I, 51, "consort," "equal,"—*sâlupa-n patippi-û-nna ari*, "and send thy daughter as my consort." *Patae* in compounds will signify "like"; e.g., *nîru-patae* "early-like," "soon"; *nîru-patae* . . . *nîru-patae* in IV, 5, 6, being "as soon as."

With the form of *khi'su-khu-si-u-ppi* comp. *tân-u-si-u-ppi* (II, 113).

We have *kipa-ssi-ppi* in II, 114, with *ûmîni-ppi-u-ena*, "belonging to my country," in agreement with it. Perhaps *kipu-s-û-ssi* is "serve-me-they, cf. *kîpu* . . . (II, 103.)

The construction of *sênippi-u-llân* throws light on the form: the comitative suffix *-lla-n*, denoting "them," is attached to the infixed pronoun, which thereupon loses the nominative ending. Consequently *sênippi-u-llân* is the equivalent of *sênippi-u-s*, when "them" is the object (or subject) of the verb.

41. *Sênippi-û-ttân silâ-khu-s-u-sti-pi-a-en*, "and to my brother may they . . ."

The *-s(u)* accordingly denotes the plural. For the verb see IV, 66, *silâ-khu-s-kha*.

|      |                           |      |                       |
|------|---------------------------|------|-----------------------|
| (41) | Passi-tkhippi-lan         | (42) | sênippi-u-s           |
|      | <i>And the messengers</i> |      | <i>may my brother</i> |

|                   |                          |                         |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| sur-âma-sti-en    | nakki-en                 | tipi-ttâ-â-n            |
| <i>honour (?)</i> | <i>(and) treat well,</i> | <i>and to thy words</i> |

|                                          |      |                                                         |                             |
|------------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| gurû-pi<br><i>I have replied</i>         | (43) | senippi-u-e-man<br><i>my brother's</i>                  | gêlti<br><i>slave (?)</i> , |
| nîrise<br><i>a child,</i>                |      | khâsi-li<br><i>seeing,</i>                              | (44)                        |
|                                          |      | kaśśan-ti-sti-nnâ-n<br><i>and mayest thou . . . her</i> | tissan<br><i>greatly</i>    |
| sênippi-u-e-nê-pi<br><i>my brother's</i> |      | geltî-pi<br><i>slave (?)</i> .                          |                             |

For *suramasti-en nakki-en* see IV, 51, *Nakki-en* is from the same root as *nakkase*, "good," "pure" (III, 103). *Sura* may be related to *sur-pi*, which I have translated "corresponding," but which may signify "honourable."

*Gêlti* is probably akin to *Giliās* and *gilu*, on which see I, 88.

*Nîri-se* is related to *nêrippi*, for which see below, IV, 62; *nîri* occurs in II, 95, and III, 43.

*Khasî-li* is the verbal stem in *-li*, which we have in *khillu-lê-pi*, &c., *Kaśśan-ti-sti-nnâ-n*, has the same root as *kaśśan-du-sî-tta-n* in IV, 9.

45. *Sênippi-e-nnâ-n khillu-lê-si eta-la-n passî-tkhippi kuzû-su*, "and thy brother ask him in return how I have accepted (?) thy messengers." *Etalan* must signify "how."

48. *Sênippi-u-e-nê-pi astî-pi nikhâri arû-sâu-sse*, "I sent the dowry of my brother's wife."

52. *Isa-llân Manennâ-n sênippi-u-s suka passî-en*, "and in return may my brother send Manes favourably."

|      |                                      |                                                   |                           |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (53) | Itta-innân<br><i>And besides (?)</i> | passî-tkhippi-ra<br><i>the (other) messengers</i> | suka<br><i>favourably</i> |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|

|                            |                                      |      |                                  |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|
| ûlê-n<br><i>to-me-also</i> | sênippi-u-s<br><i>may my brother</i> | (54) | passî-tkhe<br><i>a messenger</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|

|                                    |                                  |                                  |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| passar(?)i-pi-a-en<br><i>send,</i> | Manenna-man<br><i>even Manes</i> | passi-en<br><i>let him send,</i> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|

|                                   |      |                       |                                  |                               |
|-----------------------------------|------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ai-mâ-nîn<br><i>as (formerly)</i> | (55) | Manen<br><i>Manes</i> | sênippi-u-s<br><i>my brother</i> | passî-âma<br><i>had sent,</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|

|                             |                            |      |                                                     |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| ûli-man<br><i>and to me</i> | passê-ta<br><i>he sent</i> | (56) | ûri-u-ppi-u-nna-n<br><i>what was written to me,</i> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------|

|                                              |                         |      |                               |                                     |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| sênippi-u-ssâ-n<br><i>and may my brother</i> | pallâ-en<br><i>hear</i> | (57) | uya-man<br><i>that I (am)</i> | sênippi-sa-n<br><i>thy brother,</i> |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|



|                          |                                        |                                       |                                     |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Manenna-man<br>and Manes | passi-en<br>let him send.              | (58)                                  | Sênippi-u-e-mân<br>And my brother's |
| asti<br>wife             | anni<br>accordingly (?)                | arû-sau-sse<br>I sent,                | tâki-mân<br>for it pleased          |
| anti<br>thus             | (59) mânni<br>me,                      | sênippi-u-ssâ-n<br>and let my brother | palla-en<br>hear                    |
| ai-mâ-nîn<br>that        | mânnu-pâtae<br>of my own free will (?) | (60)                                  | ûlu[kh]ê-tta<br>I gave presents (?) |
| (and)                    | gulê-tta<br>said                       | tanki-man<br>that it pleased          | anti<br>thus                        |
|                          |                                        | manni<br>me.                          |                                     |

*Anni* is related to *an-ti*, perhaps also to *an-ammi*. *Mannu-patae* is probably a compound of the stem of the first personal pronoun, and *patae* allied to *pati*, "in accordance with" (IV, 33).

*UluKhê-tta*. In III, 15-18, we read "my brother had received what I sent him (*arû-si-mbû-s-kha*) *ûlûkhâ-ti-lan* . . . and to my brother I gave them." The general idea contained in the word, therefore, must be that of making presents. Perhaps it embodies the root which is found in the compound *gipânu-lu*, "to give."

61. *Mêna-n* must be an imperative, since we have *mêna-kki* in line 66. *Mêna-mân* (line 63), corresponds with *mêna-n*.

62, 63. *Nêrippi-u-la-n êtita apû-sa isallân apû-sâu-lla-man*, "and my child as aforesaid has . . ., and in return I have . . . them." *Nêrippi* has the determinative prefix of woman, so that it is difficult to see what other signification than that of "child," can be assigned to it.\* The root would mean "to be young"; hence *niru-sae* is "early," and *niru-patae* "soon." For *nîrise* see IV, 43.

64. *Enippi-a-llâ-n palla-in ênillan sênippi-u-ena*, "may thy gods hear them, even the gods of my brother."

66. *Nîrsae* probably stands for *nîru-sae*.

67, 68. I fancy that *azalta* means "first," and "ûlsa" "second." At all events *Pidukkita* seems to have been the sister of *Tadu-khepa*. Perhaps *zukan pati* is "according to rank" or "age"; see II, 11, III, 16.

\* In II, 95, however, *nîri* would more naturally be "lady": *Manenna-man passûtkhip nîri tissanna-man urukkân*, "now the messenger Manes often written about (?) to the lady (?)."

95. *Sankharra-sa-nin*, the Shinar of the Old Testament, similarly written *Sankhar* in a letter from the king of Alasia (*Tablets of Tell el-Amarna*, 5, 49). In the latter passage "the king of Sankhar" is coupled with "the king of the Hittites," as the king of Babylonia is in other Tel el-Amarna letters; Sankhar consequently must here denote Babylonia like the Biblical Shinar. Perhaps the term as applied to Babylonia has a Mitannian origin; at all events we now see that it is at least as old as the 15th century B.C.

96. [*T*]âdu-kâri-mb-û-ssene-râ-n "I loved them."

110. *Se*[*nippi*]-û-llâ-n *khasâ-si-pi-a-en* "and let my brother observe them."

|       |                                                |                                   |                                             |                             |
|-------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (111) | [Sên]ippi-râ-man<br><i>Now to brothers</i>     | tisippi-a-n<br><i>in excess</i>   | teunae<br><i>for ever</i>                   | tissan<br><i>indeed</i>     |
|       | pikhrumme<br><i>alliance</i>                   | (112)                             | [tâd]ukârumme<br><i>(and) friendship</i>    | ûrau<br><i>I write,</i>     |
|       | sênippi-e-nna-n<br><i>and thy brother's</i>    | urkhu-ptin<br><i>acquaintance</i> | (113)                                       | [teun]ae<br><i>for ever</i> |
|       | pikhru-sti-llâ-n<br><i>mayest thou cherish</i> | tâdukâ[r]is<br><i>loving</i>      | tisippi-sa-n<br><i>the extent of it (?)</i> | tissan<br><i>indeed</i>     |

That is: "I write that alliance and friendship are indeed strong between brothers" (or possibly "in the case of thy brother"). *Tisi-ppi-a-n* is from the same root as *tisan* or *tissan*.

|       |                                              |                                       |       |                                          |
|-------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|
| (117) | Ênna-su-s<br><i>May the gods</i>             | nakki-te-n<br><i>treat thee well,</i> | (118) | Tessupas<br><i>Tessupas</i>              |
|       | Amanû-ti-lla-n<br><i>and thy Amon</i>        | ipri-ppi-su-s<br><i>the kings,</i>    |       | atta-i-ppi-su-s<br><i>thy fathers,</i>   |
| (119) | sekhru-s-ti-lla-n<br><i>helping (?) thee</i> | atinin<br><i>as</i>                   |       | manna-ti-lla-man<br><i>me with thee,</i> |
|       | urukhkhis-ti-llan<br><i>knowing (?) thee</i> |                                       |       |                                          |

In *Amanû-ti-llân* and the following words *-ti* is evidently the affixed second personal pronoun, while the final suffix refers to a

plural subject ("the gods"), and not to a plural object. "The kings" probably mean the gods, as we can hardly suppose that deified ancestors are intended.

That *sekhru-s* signifies "helping," seems pretty clear from III, 59, where it is said that Dusratta's father "helped" (*sekhra*) the grandfather and father of the Pharaoh. The substantive *sekhar-na*, "help," is found in I, 103.

127, 128. We must notice the spelling *e-pir-ni* instead of *ipri-ni* "king."

130. It would appear from this last line that *teu-la-e* (and *teu-na-e*), signified "eternally." The root is evidently the same as that of *tea*, "afterwards" (III, 66, IV, 2.)

It is clear from the foregoing that Mitannian is in its general structure a "Caucasian" language. It resembles Georgian in its habit of piling suffix upon suffix, pronoun upon pronoun, until the verbal forms become almost impossible to analyse. Like Georgian, also, it occupies a middle position between inflection and agglutination. In this respect it resembles the ancient languages of Asia Minor, so far as we know them, though it is to be noticed that it illustrates the fact that, as we pass eastward, agglutination is more prominent, while westward, as in the case of Lycian, inflection is more pronounced.

All these languages, moreover, are characterised by certain common grammatical features, such as the absence of gender, the forms of the personal pronouns, and the terminations of the nominative, accusative and oblique cases of the noun. They do not, however, on that account belong to the same linguistic family; the relationship between them is geographical and not genealogical. Some of the features common to them are shared with the Indo-European languages, and they thus form a bridge which connects the Caucasus linguistically with Greece. This however is no reason for supposing that between the Indo-European and the Asianic languages there is any connection other than geographical; geographical contact and influence are quite sufficient to explain such similarities as exist. In the Hittite language of Arzawa *mi* and *ti* are "mine" and "thine," -s denotes the nominative, -n the accusative, a simple vowel the oblique case, and -as the nominative plural, while in

Mitannian *man(na)*, *ta (te)*, and *sa (se)* are "me," "thee" and "he," *u* "mine" and *uya* "I," *-s* and *-n* the signs of the nominative and accusative, a vowel that of the oblique case, and *-as* that of the plural nominative. But beyond these coincidences we look in vain for marks of relationship in either grammar or vocabulary between the languages of Asia Minor and those of eastern Europe.

On the other hand, as Prof. Jensen has already noticed, between Mitannian and Vannic there are several striking points of resemblance. The grammar of Vannic is that of Mitannian simplified; the suffixes have not yet coalesced so completely with one another, there are no infixes or suffixed pronouns, and the verbal forms are less complicated. But the general structure and machinery of the two languages is the same; there is the same use of gerundives, the same confusion between the noun and the verb. The suffixes are similar; not only have we in Vannic *-s* for the nominative of the noun, *-ni* for the accusative, and a vowel for the oblique case, we have also the suffixes *-li* and *-di*, *-ki* and *-ka*, *-ri* (*-ra*) and *-me*. There is a nominative plural in *-s*, and *-ni* is an adjectival suffix. The first person singular of the verb is characterised by the suffix *-bi*, with which the *-pi* and *-u* of Mitannian must be compared. There is a third person singular in *-dha* (or *-ta*); the ordinary third person suffixes *-li* and *ni* may be compared with the Mitannian *-la-u* "them" and *-ni* "him." Prof. Jensen has already pointed out that the Mitannian *ipris* "king" and *ûmîn* or *ûwîn* "country" are the Vannic *euris* and *ebânî*; *ti-pi* (or *ti-wa*) "word" is the Vannic *ti* "to name," *tiu* "to pretend," Tessupas was the Air-god in both Mitannian and Vannic, and perhaps *uya* "I" is related to the Vannic *ie-s*.\*

\* The Cuneiform Text which I have described in my *Assyriological Notes*, 3, VI (*Proc. S.B.A.*, Nov. 1897), shows that Mitannian was spoken within the limits of the Babylonian empire in the age of Khammurabi. Many of the names in it are purely Mitannian. Idkhip-sar is *idkhi-p*, the second element in *passi-idkhi-p* "messenger," Idkhipus is *idkhi-pi-u-s* "my envoy" or "minister," and in Gil-Tesup "the servant (?) of Tesup," we have the name of the god Tessupas and the word that meets us in Gilu-Khepa and Giliyas. *Sar* seems to have been borrowed from Babylonian (as in Ea-sarri), like the Comagenian *sarnu-pi*. In Tekhip-tilla we have the same root as in the *tekhû-sa* of Dusratta's letter (II, 100), which may be connected with *idkhi-p*, and Urkhiya is formed from *urkhu* "to know" like Giliyas from *gilu*. As Durar-Tesup is the son of Gil-Tesup, *durar* must be a Mitannian word; cp. *marû-dur-ku* and *ua-dura-nna*. It is questionable whether the Mannian names, Akhsir-Tesup, Akhsir-Babu, Irisenni and Nubanani, which are mixed up with the Mitannian names, are linguistically allied to the latter.

On the whole, however, the vocabularies of the two languages differ far more than the grammars, and make it evident that if there really is a genetic relationship between them, it is by no means a close one. For my own part I am inclined to doubt whether the relationship is more than geographical; the words common to both may be explained by borrowing on one side or the other, and the structural and grammatical likeness may be of geographical origin. But whether the relationship is geographical or genetic, in either case it shows that the two languages were once in contact with one another, and that Mitannian has intruded from the north into the Semitic territory of Mesopotamia

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## VOCABULARY.

## A

*a* ; infixed pronoun of 2nd person.

*aaddu*, IV, 7.

*aggu*, *agus* ; "friend," I, 81.

*agu-karæ* ; "honour," II, 86  
compounded with *karu*, q.v.

*ai-in* ; "now."

*ai-lan* ; "how," "that" (?).

*ai-tan*, II, 90.

*ai-mânin* ; "as," "that" (?), III,

111.

*aku* ; "bring away," I, 87.

*âlu-mbu* ; "treat" (?), II, 91.

*amma-ti* ; "elders."

*amma-ti-ppi* ; "grandfather."

*ammu*, I, 95.

*anam*, *anamma*, *anammi* ; "ac-  
cordingly."

*andue* ; "kinds" (?), III, 11.

*anni*, IV, 58.

*anni-n* ; "as regards," III, 102.

*an-ti*, *an-ti-lla-n* ; "thus."

*ansu*, II, 61.

*anzanni* ; "joy."

*anzanu-khu* ; "gladden."

*anzugalla*, II, 60.

*anu-a-man*, I, 110.

*anu-tani* (compound of *tanu*),  
II, 69.

*ârakhi* ; "lead," see *zarakhi*.

*aru*, *ari* ; "send."

*arannê* ; "sendings," III, 39.

*arta* ; "former," "elder" ; comp.  
the proper names *Arta-tamas*  
and *Ar-Tessupas* (for *Arta-*  
*Tessupas*).

*asti* ; "wife."

*atta-ippi* ; "father."

*attârti-ippi* ; "forefather."

*atinîn* ; "as" (?).

*auarkhena* ; "copies" (?), IV, 7.

*azalta* ; "first" (?), IV, 67.

## B

*benti-en* ; "may he bless" (?), I,  
103.

*benta* ; "blessing" (?), II, 5.

*bennu-ppi* ; "benefactor" (?), II,  
78.

## D

*dub-sarri-ppi* ; "scribe," "secre-  
tary."

*dubbe* ; "letters," I, 18.

*dubê*, II, 20.

*dubbias*, III, 45.

*dubbukku*, III, 46.

*dubbu-la-in* ; "may they des-  
patch," III, 26.

*dubbu-lê-pi*, III, 100.

*dubbu-pâta*, III, 48.

*duppa-kushena*, II, 21. Perhaps  
a compound of *aku*, "to  
bring."



*dummi*, II, 58.

*durubi*; "treaty." Cf. the proper name *Durar-Tesup*.

## E

*Ea-sarri*; the Assyrian "Ea, the king."

*ela*; "sister."

*êl-arti-ppi*; "elder sister," III, 45.

*êmanâmu*; "exchange," III, 54.

*êmanam-kha*; "an exchange," IV, 32.

*êni-ppi*, *êni-pi* (I, 87), *ena*; "god."

*epirni*; see *ipris*.

*eruskinna*; "friendly" (?), I, 97.

*etiê*; "these."

*etippi*, *eti-pi* (III, 55).

*eti-ta*; "as aforesaid" (?).

## G

*gelti*; "slave" (?), IV, 43.

*gilu*; "serve" (?), I, 89.

*gipânu*, *gipânu-lu*; "give."

*giu*, IV, 8.

*gulu*, *gulli*; "speak," "say."

*guru*; "again," III, 58.

*gurû-pi*; "repeat," IV, 42.

## I

*i*, *e*; infixed pronoun of the 2nd person.

*i-â-lan*, II, 92.

*i-â-ti-lan*, II, 74.

*i-â-llâ-nîn*, III, 52.

*i-â-llê-nîn*; "mutually."

*i-â-mma-man*, IV, 18.

*i-â-mê-nîn*, III, 91.

*i-â-tta-man*, II, 5.

*i-â-n*, III, 5.

*i-ê*, I, 54.

*i-ê-n*, II, 79.

*i-n*, III, 48.

*i-e-mâ-nîn*, IV, 27.

*i-e-mê-nîn*, II, 62.

*i-êna-mâ-nîn*, IV, 21.

*i-mma-man*, II, 98.

*i-u-mmi-mma-man*, II, 99.

*i-u-ta-lla-man*, II, 94.

*iddu*; "please," "be satisfied with."

*iddummi*; "pleasure," I, 93.

*idkhi-p*, *itkhi-p*; "envoy," cf. *tekhu*, and the proper name *Idkhi-p-u-s*.

*iinna-mâ-nîn*, III, 22.

*iinna-mê-nîn*, III, 21.

*inû-mê-nîn*, II, 74.

*inu-n*; "then" (?), III, 3.

*inû-tta-man*, II, 75.

*ipris*, *ipri*; "king." In IV, 127, *epirni* for *ipri-ni*.

*irkamu*; "recount," I, 92.

*irni-khu*; "demand," III, 66.

*irsu*; "desire" (?), I, 103.

*isa-s* (I, 69, 75), *isa-llan* (III, 53); "in return."

*issina-n*; "as formerly," III, 66.

*istani*, I, 81.

*itta*; "with" (?), II, 7.

## K

*kadu*; "design" (?), IV, 31.

*karu*; "love." As in *tadû-karu*.

*kašša-nti*, *kašša-ndu*, IV, 9, 44.

*katu*; "to utter."

*kati-lli*; "to converse," IV, 21, 27.

*kati-nna* ; "description," III,

101.

*kipu* ; "servant (?)," IV, 38.

*kuzu*, IV, 40.

## KH

*khârali* ; "door."

*chasu* ; "see," "consider" (or "hear"?).

*Khepa* ; a deity.

*khiyarukhkhe*, *khirukhkhe* ;  
"gold" (*khiarukkhæ*, III,  
66).

*khillu* ; "ask."

*khišukhu* ; "likeness (?)." N

*khišukhu-lu-khu* ; "to be similar  
(?)," I, 110.

*khuta-nna*, I, 102.

## L

*lupakku* ; "soldiers."

## M

*makanna* ; "presents."

*-man* ; "also."

*mannâ* ; "me," I, 84.

*mâna*, *manni* ; "to me," "of  
me."

*mâanna-lla-man*, I, 8.

*manni-mma-man*, I, 16.

*mannu-kku*, II, 91.

*marâ-dur* ; "increase ten  
times (?)" III, 12.

*mari-â-nn-arti-la-n*, III, 32.

*Masri-â-ni* ; "Egyptian," I, 10.

*mêna*, IV, 61.

*-n* ; copulative conjunction.

*na*, *ni* ; "him," "it."

*nakka-sa* ; "pure" or "good,"

III, 103.

*nakki-du*, *nakki-t-en* ; "treat  
well (?)," II, 52, IV, 117.

*namallum* ; "couch."

*napi* ; "text (?)" IV, 15.

*napri-llan* ; "priests."

*nazu*, I, 94.

*neri-ppi* ; "child," "lady," IV,  
62.

*niri* ; "lady," "child," II, 95.

*niri-sse* ; "child," IV, 43.

*niru-pataa* ; "soon."

*niru-sae* ; "early" (*nir-sae*, IV,  
66).

*nikhari* ; "dowry."

*ninu* ; "add (?)," IV, 7.

*Ninuâ* ; "Nineveh," III, 98.

? *nîpru* ; "son." Perhaps  
Assyrian, or connected with  
*napri-llan*.

*nûli* ; translation of the ideo-  
graphs KIR-KIR-MES, III, 113.

## P

*palu*, *palla* ; "hear" (or "see"?).

*paldu-pâte*, III, 48.

*passar(?)i*, IV, 54.

*passu* ; "send."

*passi-khi-ppi* ; "messages," III,  
54.

*passi-dkhi-ppi* ; "messenger."

*pata* ; "likeness."

*pati* ; "in accordance with."

*pati-ppi* ; "consort," I, 51.

*pazi*; "embassy (?)." *pê-pi*; "day," III, 55. *pessa-n*, *pesse-nîn*; "now," III, 68, III, 3. Perhaps a compound of *pê* and *issina-n*. *pikhru-mme*; "friendship," IV, 111. *pîru*; "receive." Cp. the proper name *Piri-zzi*. *pîratêna*; "receptions," III, 26. For the form cp. *talim-t-êna*. *pîra-t-arti-ppi*; "family (?)," II, 18. *pisaina*; "now," III, 33. ? *pitqu*; "son." Perhaps Assyrian.

## S

*sa*; see *se*. *sâla*; "daughter." *Sankharra*; "Shinar," IV, 95. *šarme*; "forest." *saru*; "to desire," III, 1. *Saukas*; "the goddess Istar." *se*, *sî*, *sa*; third personal pronoun. *sena*; "them." *sekhra*; "help," III, 59. *sekharna*, I, 103. *sekhru*, IV, 119. *sêni-ppi*; "brother." *sêna-bbe*, I, 89. *sênânnue*; "in a brotherly way," IV, 12. *sêrrê*; "quantity (?)," III, 69. *sirena*; "plentiful," III, 34. *sira-sse*, IV, 34. *sî*; see *se*. *siya*; "he" (?), I, 92. *siu*, I, 90. *Simiginis*; "the god of the city Simigis," I, 86.

*sinni-berukhkhe*; "ivory," III, 97. *sû*; "multiply," I, 67. *sue*, *sueni*; "much." *su-bi* (III, 72), *sû-pi-man* (III, 40). *su-ta*, *su-ta-man*; "often," I, 50. *su-a-lla-man*, ; "often." *su-a-una-man*. *suru*; "magnify," II, 4. *surpi*; "corresponding" or "honourable" (?), IV, 2. *sukku*, *sukka-nnê*; "favourable."

## T

*tîdu*, *tâtu*; "love." *tâdu-karu*; "love." *tâta-raskae*; "with affection," III, 53. *talama* (IV, 7), *talami* (IV, 37), "interpreter." *talimêna*; "interpreters," III, 120. *talamêna*; "interpreting," II, 75. *tankin* (I, 96), *taki* (IV, 58); "wished." *tânu*; "make," "do." *tase*; "kindness (?)," I, 85. *tea*; "afterwards," III, 69. *te-êna*, III, 101. *te-u-nae*, *te-u-lae* (IV, 130); "for ever." *Tessupas*; the Air-god. *tî*, *te*; "thee." *tikhânu*; "enrich (?)," III, 22. *tipi*, *tipê*; "word." *tissan*, *tisanna*; "much," "in deed." *tisi-ppi*; "excess," III, 86. *tisi-asa-n*, I, 78.

## U

*u* ; infixed 1st pers. pronoun.

*uya* ; "I," IV, 51.

*u-ll-u-i* ; "to me," III, 45.

*u-li* ; "to me," IV, 55.

*u-llâ-n* ; "mine (?)."

*u-nâ-lan* (III, 19), *û-na* (II, 14)

*uadura-anna* ; "more."

*udirru* ; "add," III, 53.

*ulnu* ; "oil."

*ûlsa* ; "second (?)," IV, 68.

*ulukhu* ; "give gifts (?)," IV, 60.

*ulukha*, III, 16 ; *ullukh-uggun*,  
II, 104.

*ûmini* ; "country."

*undu* ; "when," "as."

*unu* ; "take," "select," I, 86,

III, 21.

*ûnu-kka-la-n*, IV, 3.

*urkhu* ; "know," "understand."

*urkhu-ptin* ; "acquaintance," IV,

112.

*uru* ; "write."

*uru-mu* ; "writing," IV, 47.

*uru-pi* ; "writing," III, 116.

*uru-kku* ; "written," II, 95.

## Z

*zârakhi* ; "lead."

*zarra*, I, 89.

*Zizanu* ; the War-god.

*zukan* ; "age," "rank" (?), IV,  
68.

*suzi-la-man* ; "accept them."



## ADDITIONAL NOTE TO MEMOIR ON THE LANGUAGE OF MITANNI.

By Prof. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., &c.

Since my Paper was in print I have had the pleasure of studying Dr. L. Messerschmidt's monograph in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (1899, 4). We agree wholly or substantially in our general analysis of Mitannian grammar, as well as in the significations assigned to the following words: (1) *aggus*, "another" (M.), "friend" (S.): my rendering of this word is shown to be the more exact by the compound verb *agukara*; (2) *aku*, "bring away" (see M., p. 50); (3) *ammati*; (4) *anammi*; (5) *anti*; (6) *asti*; (7) *atta*; (8) *gulu*; (9) *guru*; (10) *ela*; (11) *emanamu*; (12) *eni*; (13) *khiarukhhka*; (14) *khillu*; (15) *ipris*; (16) *katu*; (17) *makanna*; (18) *nikhari*; (19) *nirusae*; (20) *passu*; (21) *sala*; (22) *saru*; (23) *senippi*; (24) *tanu*; (25) *tatu*; (26) *tadu-karu*; (27) *tikhanu*; (28) *tipi*; (29) *tissan*; (30) *umini*; (31) *undu*. M. would interchange the meanings of *aru*, "to send," and *gipanu*, "to give," but since he interprets *gipanu* to "send presents," there is really but little difference between us. *Aran*, however, he separates from *aru*, and gives it the meaning of "reading." *Anzannukhu* he makes "to pray for" instead of "to rejoice" or "gladden" (as Jensen and myself). For *hasu* he adopts the meaning of "hear," as I had myself done at first; it is now clear, however, from passages like IV, 64, that *palla* must signify "to hear," while M.'s discovery of the negative conjugation makes it equally clear that in IV, 30, *hasâ-si-pia-li-lan* must be "what they had not seen."

M. suggests, doubtfully, "know" as the signification of *puru*; but "receive" better suits the passages in which the word occurs. The meanings of "health" and "in regard to," which he assigns to *galti* and *etita* are similarly questionable; and that of "one another" which he gives to *istani* does not yield a construable sense in the

places where it is found. On the other hand he is certainly right in making *ûru* "to send back," "reply," and not "to write," as I had supposed, and in giving to *ulis* the meaning of "another." The latter discovery clears up IV, 53: *ûlên senippi-u-s passidkhê passari-yâ-en* "let not my brother send another messenger," and furnishes us with a fresh point of agreement with Vannic, as in that language *ulis* signifies "another." Messerschmidt's cleverest and most important discovery, however, is that of the negative conjugation, which has opened the way to the interpretation of several words. In the third person of the precative this is denoted by the infixed particle (*i*)*pi*-(*a*) or *pi*, which must have been pronounced (*i*)*y-â* and *y(i)*, as in *khišukh-i-yâ-en*, "let him not grieve," *nakki-t-û-y-en*, "let them not permit me." In the first person singular it takes the form of *y-u*, as in *khišukhus-y-u-ppi*, "I have not grieved," *ûr-y-u-ppi-u-nnan*, "I will not send him back from me." It is difficult to say whether the *i* (of *i-y*) belongs to the negative particle or to the stem of the verb. The negative is represented by *y*, *-a* and *-u* being the infixed pronouns.

From the discovery of the negative conjugation it follows that (1) *khišukhu* means "to grieve," and (2) *tisa*, "heart," *tisippi-e-nna-n khišukhi-yâ-en* (III, 75, 76), for instance, being "let him not grieve his heart." The adverb *tissan*, "very," must consequently be literally "with all the heart," "cordially." It further follows that (3) *kuzu-s* and (4) *qarkut* mean "to keep back" and "detain"; *senippi-u-lla-n passitkhippi kuzusti-yâ-en qarkutti-yâ-en* (IV, 40) being "and let not my brother keep back (and) detain the messengers," a phrase which recurs in the Assyrian letters of Dusratta.

Another word of which M. has, I believe, ascertained the meaning is *andû-anan*, which must signify "because" in III, 89. My rendering "kinds" must be given up. On the other hand he has missed the sense of *apennânin* and *apennênin*, which must mean "individually" in IV, 17, 24, *apen* being "each." He is probably right in translating *kaššu* (or *bišu*) "to be glad," and it is possible that he is also right in making *attartippi*, "the bridal gift from the father of the bride," though I am very doubtful on the point. For *esippi* he suggests the signification of "gifts," but under the root *ûn* he has confused together the verb *unu*, "to take," and the nominal *una*.

There is one point, however, on which M. has gone altogether astray. He has failed to recognise the infixed personal pronouns

*u* and *a* or *i*, and has accordingly been plunged into all kinds of difficulties. Instead of *u* and *a* (*i*) he makes *ippi*, *ipi* and *i-pi* the representatives of the three personal pronouns. But, as he himself admits, the confusion introduced into the language by the difficulty of distinguishing between three suffixes so similar in sound would have been hopeless, more especially when it is remembered that the suffix *-pi* is also used for other purposes. Moreover in III, 52, we have *atta-ippa* instead of the *atta-ipi* demanded by his theory, which he is here obliged to abandon and make *ipp(a)*, "thine," instead of "mine"! So in I, 53, he has to translate *Manêta passidkhipi-u-ta* "to Manes thy messenger" instead of "my messenger," though lines 50, 51 ("sending often [to say]: send thy daughter as my consort") show that the king of Egypt is here speaking. In III, 50, again, ("and to thy brother speak good words, and let my brother consider thy brother, and I have greatly gladdened thy forefathers") he is forced to ignore the copulative conjunction and make *senippi-e-n* which precedes it an accusative after *anzannukhu-sau*. The verbal forms, however, prove that *u* denotes the first personal pronoun; thus *tat-ia* (probably for *tatay-a*), "he loves," *tata-u* (probably for *tatay-u*), "I love"; *gulu-s-a*, "he said," *gulu-sa-u*, "I said." M. has overlooked this fact, and has accordingly misunderstood IV, 45, *passidkhippi kuzûs-u uya-man kuzus-i-uppi-lan*, "as for my detaining messengers, I have not detained them," where *kuzus* is the stem as in other forms (e.g., *kuzus-ti-yâ-en*) and the word "messengers" is used without qualification as in the Assyrian letters of Tel el-Amarna. As already noticed, the failure to recognise the forms of the pronouns has also prevented him from harmonising the first and third persons of the negative conjugation which he has himself discovered. It may be added that the *-pi* of the first person in forms like *tatu-karrêpi*, "I love," should doubtless be read *-wa*. M.'s error has obliged him to give a wrong signification to *uaduranna*, which Jensen has certainly explained correctly, and also to despair of analysing the word *nakki-d-û-yi-en*, the real meaning of which, however, he has himself been the first to discover. The infixed *u* is the first personal pronoun, and the word must be decomposed into "permit-me-not-let" ("let not the gods permit me to grieve [thy heart]").

I can now explain the verbal forms in *-s-u* which have hitherto been puzzling. *Kîpu-s-u-ssi* (IV, 38) is simply "had appointed-I-him," the *s* being the same as that which we find in the stem *kuzus*



and probably also in *gulus-a*, while the singular *-si* is used instead of the plural, which, as M. has noted, is elsewhere the case in Mitannian. The whole passage consequently reads:—"Now Manes my brothers's envoy, and Giliās, Artessupās and Asalis the envoys—and Giliās I had appointed dragoman and Asalis my secretary—I sent very early on behalf of thy brother, and my brother received them." *Kipu* consequently must mean "to appoint." *Gipanu-s-u-sse* (III, 69) is similarly, "I had given it," and *gilû-s-u-a* (I, 89), "I had assisted him (?)."

M.'s misconception of the personal pronouns has led him into other difficulties besides philological ones. Hence he is unable to understand what is meant by the countries of Masri and Murwukhe, the Mitannian equivalents of the Babylonian Mizir and Mitanni, in spite of the parallelism between IV, 127, 128, and III, 103-105. He is also forced to conclude that Ikhîb is an Egyptian city, and Simiginis an Egyptian god, though, as he himself says, this is not admitted by the Egyptologists. Where Ikhîb really was is indicated in IV, 122, where the name of its god appears under the compound form of Simigi-tarsuannis. *Tarsuanis* is the Vannic word for "warrior," and Ikhîb must therefore have been in the north within the Vannic sphere of influence. Sinigis was a city of Nairi according to Assur-nazir-pal (W.A.I. I, 22, 97).

The non-recognition of the first personal pronoun has further led M. to misinterpret the *su*, "all," of plural forms like *atta-ippi-sus*, and to assign erroneous meanings to *sû-ta* and *pešsan*. But he acknowledges that his translation of *enna-sus* does not suit II, 52, and that in *suallaman* we should expect to find the meaning of "all" (p. 46).

Connected with the misconception of the pronoun is M.'s supposition that *-pi* denotes a genitive case. This, however, is due to his reading the rules of Indo-European grammar into that of Mitanni, and if carried out consistently would lead to endless difficulties. The true function of *-pi* is indicated by the title of *irruṣi* (not *šaru-pi*), "the king," given to the king of Kummukh by Tiglath-pileser I (see *Proc. S.B.A.*, XIX, p. 286, note 1).

M. has made considerable advances towards fixing the meaning of the adverbs. *ia-llanin* and *ia-lleṇin* are not "mutually," but "as," and *ia-mma-man* is "whatsoever," (*a*)*mma-man* being the Latin *-cunque*. M. would also render *ia-menin*, *ie-menin* and *ie-manin*, "whatsoever," but the distributive sense rather lies in the

(a)*mma-man* affixed to the verbs with which they are joined, and in III, 91, *ia-menin etippi palau senippius teunae tissan tissan tatia-ssa* must signify, "since this I hear (that) my brother ever loves her very much." *Ailan M.* would render "but," and *inna-menin* and *inna-manin* "when" or "if" (?). From III, 51, we may gather that *anamman* is "on that account."

Several points still need explanation, such as the difference in signification between the vowels *a* and *e*, the forms of the personal pronouns, and the suffixes of the verbal stems. But so much has already been made out, that we may confidently leave the settlement of such details to future investigators.

I have only to add that in my foregoing Paper the explanation of the verbal suffix *-sta* as precativè must be given up, that *uria-ssena* (III, 33) should be "sends them back," and *urupien* (or *uruwen*) (III, 116) "the reply," that *tisippê-nnên*, "splendid" (III, 75), should be *tisippê-nnân*, "his heart," and that *anênâ-mma-man* is probably "other." That *m* is sometimes to be pronounced *w* seems to follow from the spelling *u-u-i-in-ni-e-pi* (II, 72), which implies that *umini* was pronounced *uwini*, and from the fact that  $\Sigma$  has the value of *nis* we may perhaps infer that in Mitannian the word *nis* signified "wood."



HEBREW ILLUMINATED MSS. OF THE BIBLE  
OF THE IX<sup>TH</sup> AND X<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES.

BY DR. M. GASTER.

An ancient tradition preserved by Philo and Josephus tells us that the Code of the Law sent by the high priest from Jerusalem to Ptolomæus Philadelphus was written in gold. The letters of the *whole* text appeared in gold upon what must have been a coloured background, probably a purple one, as we see it in other purple MSS. But the stern austerity of the Law would not tolerate such an embellishment, and a later tradition ascribes the loss of that precious Scroll to its very elaborate form. Any embellishment would produce the envy or cupidity of others, and thus contribute to its profanation and ultimate loss. It was therefore enacted that no other ink should be allowed, nor is it yet allowed for writing the sacred Scroll of the Pentateuch, but plain vegetable ink. The use of any colour at once reduces the Scroll to a profane text, and prevents it from being used in the liturgical service of the Synagogue. In the Treatise on the writing of the sacred Scroll, we find therefore that it is distinctly forbidden to write the Scroll with gold, and it is added, that in the Scroll of the Alexandrians the name of God was written with gold. It was therefore ordered by the sages to be declared apocryphal, or to be taken out of the Service (Mass. Soferim I, § 10). One can see by this prescription that any adornment of the plain text did not find favour with the Jews from remote antiquity, although it would be difficult to assert, that the same rigour was observed also when writing those texts, which I call the vulgar or profane texts of the Bible.

There is a profound difference between the two classes of biblical texts, which, to my knowledge, has not been sufficiently recognised by students of the text of the Bible. A different treatment is meted out to each of these two texts, the care bestowed upon

the accuracy of writing and the ulterior preservation is not by any means the same, and for this very reason their value for the critical examination of the text is not to be placed on the same level. The one is the Scroll containing only the simple text of the Pentateuch without any addition whatsoever, without any points or accents or notes, or with special signs for the chapters or subdivisions. This is the text used in the Liturgy, it is kept with special reference, is written with exceptional care and due preparation, and is guarded against damage as far as human foresight can go. The other is the text which is placed in everybody's hand. Though a certain modicum of care is required also for the writing of these texts, it is obvious that nothing like the care bestowed upon the sacred Scroll is bestowed upon them. Mistakes will creep in, erasures when necessary, changes and replacements of effaced portions are allowed, and on the whole much more liberty is given to the copyist. This latitude and the ease with which mistakes crept into such texts, will explain the origin, growth and importance attributed to the Massora, and the work of those scribes who devoted their lives to establish a correct text. The discrepancy between the profane text and the sacred will explain to a certain extent the differences which we observe between the ancient translations and what we now call the Massoretic text. Until this latter was firmly established, almost everyone could claim to have a correct text of the Bible. These were not yet texts corrected from one recognised standard. The one in existence is the work of those Massoretic scholars who have preserved to us the text, in the form in which we have it as a recognised and authoritative text. Otherwise we should now be in the possession of numerous redactions of the Hebrew text due wholly and solely to the arbitrary work of careless copyists.

It is now a question whether the stringent rules laid down for the writing of the sacred Scroll were considered to be of authority also with regard to the profane texts? A fundamental deviation from the Scroll was already the addition of points and vowel signs to the latter, to which in time also Massoretic notes were added. And there is one single allusion to the peculiar writing of the name of God thus far found in the Talmud, which can only refer to such profane texts (*Tr. Sabbath*, fol. 103*b*). Not a trace, however, is to be found in the whole Talmudic literature of the art of illuminations and miniatures so characteristic of Byzantine art, and of ancient MSS. of which the famous *Genesis* of Vienna and the *Cotton MS.* in the

British Museum are the oldest specimens. Painting of any kind was never popular with the Jews, and it was considered in ancient time as an ally of idolatry.

Illuminations, however, slowly found their way into the books of Hebrew ritual. Those known belong to comparatively modern times, commencing from the XIIth or XIIIth century. The Bible itself even in the profane form, has thus far retained the ancient austerity. In time the Massoretic notes which were written round the text, assumed the elaborate form of interlaced work, or were grouped in the form of flowers, but this only in very rare instances. In a few cases of elegant writing it was encased in black borders, no other kind of ink being used. And, therefore, judging by the facts known hitherto, one would have been perfectly justified in asserting that the Hebrew text of the Bible has never been illuminated, *i.e.*, ornamented in any shape or form except with those few Massoretical interlacings; and if there were any in existence with a few gold or other illuminated initials, that these belonged to the XIIIth century or to a later time. For only from that time on, illuminations enter into Hebrew MS., mostly under the influence of Spanish, Italian, and French schools of art. Profusely illustrated are only the Prayer Books, such as the MS. British Museum Add. 11,639 and similar in various libraries. The Haggadah for the Passover ritual is next in order of profuse illustrations, most of them following one single original, which later on has been reproduced by woodcuts in printed editions; and lastly, the Book of Esther has also been the object of this art of illuminations. There are a few other books, containing either ritual prescriptions or prayers, which have also been illuminated, but almost all are of a comparatively modern origin, and with few exceptions the product of European artists. Of ancient literature very little has come down to us. The old Scrolls have with few exceptions disappeared, mostly in consequence of the custom of burying them as soon as, through long wear, they had become unfit for the service in the Synagogue. All the old MSS. of the Bible still in existence belong without exception to the other class of texts, namely, the profane, and some of them are to a certain extent so-called model codices, from which the sacred Scrolls were written by the copyist.

Many of these are so arranged that they correspond, line for line, with the lines of the sacred Scrolls, and although in pages, they correspond, to a certain extent, to the columns of the Scrol's.

The well known initial letters ביה שמו for certain columns of the Scroll are to be found also in these MSS., though written on pages. These pages are often arranged in such a manner as to correspond each with a half column. This fact is of very great importance, for the graphical character of some of these model codices has hitherto not been sufficiently studied by any one. It would not be easy to say what place these MSS. occupy in the chronological order of biblical MSS. Do these represent an ancient form sanctioned or arranged from antiquity for the Scroll, or that one which is the outcome of later legislation, enacted for the purpose of guarding the writing of those Scrolls from inaccuracies? In the latter case they would represent only the more recent tradition of the Massorites and Talmudical legislators, and not be regarded as ancient. We must further inquire whether these model Codices have vowel signs and other diacritical marks of a more recent origin, or only the text pure and simple, exactly as it appears, in the Scroll, without any further addition? In this case we might assume that they represent the oldest tradition, and served as direct, true models for the writing, following only ancient tradition. MSS. of both categories are known to exist, those of the latter being the fewest in number and the most scarce. In fact I cannot say that I have seen or heard of many, except that old Codex of mine (*Cod. Or.* Gaster No. 85), which differs completely in its writing from all the other biblical MSS. known throughout the world. The question raised now by me is not an idle one, as it is all-important to get some guidance in the estimation of such MSS. and of their critical value. One thing is certain, all these MSS. which follow the graphical order of the Scroll are more or less old. In more recent MSS. the date is difficult to fix, but I would say from the XIIIth century on, this order is abandoned, being felt probably as a tie by the copyist, especially when he included the whole canon of the Scriptures in his copy.

There exists, besides, another series of ancient Biblical Codices, entirely independent of the Scroll, not following its order of columns and lines or initials, and totally differently arranged. These are written mostly in three very narrow columns on each page, and rather a broad space is left free between these columns, evidently for the purpose of inserting there Massoretic notes. To this class belong, thus far, all the Codices that are known and considered to be the most ancient. There is not *one* among them with two



columns on the page. The three-columned codices are, the Fragment of the Pentateuch in the British Museum, the famous Codex Babylonicus, the Codex from Cairo, if my information is correct, and the peculiar Codex of the Prophets from Karasubazar, dating probably from the middle of the IXth century. We shall see later on that this date, which has been doubted by Strack and Harkavy, seems to be correct, as given by Chwolson. All these Codices belong to the IXth or Xth century, that of Cairo inclusive, in spite of the objection raised by Dr. Neubauer.

To the same class belongs my own Codex No. 150, a large folio volume consisting now only of thirty-seven leaves, from all the five books of the Pentateuch. The writing is almost identical with the MS. of the British Museum and the Codex Petropolitan, but of a more archaic character. The real difficulty in studying such ancient texts without dates, is to find those peculiarities which give us the clue for the age of that MS. The only systematic work in that direction thus far is the exhaustive study made by Prof. Chwolson, in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*, St. Petersburg, 1882, accompanied by a large number of facsimiles from ancient inscriptions on tombs and reproductions of a great number of ancient Codices, some of which have the dates on them. Foremost is the Codex of 916, about which there is no doubt. Then there are other Codices, which have been in the possession of the late Firkowitch, and are suspected as to the authenticity of their epigraphs, it being well known that he had tampered with some. Among the somewhat doubtful, is the one already alluded to, hailing from Karasubazar, which dates, apparently, from about 830. This date has been doubted. If we, however, study the writing and compare it with that of the MS. of the British Museum, the date of which is assumed to be the middle of the IXth century, we shall be struck by the great similarity that exists between these two and one other Codex in my possession, which has some of the peculiarities in common with that text quite specially. I will revert later on to this MS.

The writing of my Codex Or. 150 is, however, very closely allied to the Codex Petropolitanus and to the MS. of the British Museum, having in common with them all the characteristics which mark the antiquity of these Codices. Chwolson has pointed them out, and all are found here, if anything, more marked still. I will only mention the most prominent, although every letter has the archaic



form. *Nun* and *Zain* are both extremely small, a feature that disappears in later Codices. *He* is closed up and not open as we know it, the only difference between *He* and *Heth* in the MS. being that the vertical line on top protrudes beyond the left foot in the *He* and not in the *Heth*. The *Mem* is not finished on the left side, and the final *m* is scarcely discernible from *Samech*. The very long neck of the *Lamed* with a small stroke to the left on top. *Vav* and *Yod* are almost of the same length, and the latter (*Yod*) looks like a half circle. *'Ain* is bent inwardly, and the *Ṣade* has a peculiar form. The lower stroke under *Gimel*, of a very prominent form, is almost a straight line, and often runs under the following letter, as is also the case with *Nun*. The left foot of the *Taw* has a similar form; altogether one cannot fail to be struck by the identity of these letters with the most ancient MSS. which we know.

Another point which has not hitherto been observed by anyone studying Hebrew Palæography—at any rate I am not aware of it having been done—is, that in the most ancient Codices of the Bible we do not find those extended forms of letters which we find in so many recent MSS. In these the copyist resorted to an expedient whenever he found that he could not fill the line without dividing the word. This is not permitted, so, in order to fill out the line, he lengthened some of the letters. In the old texts we find instead either one or two dots or perpendicular small strokes, or the first two letters of the following word, in which case the second letter is represented merely by a part of it. Through this filling up of the lines by means of letters from words in the following line, repetitions or dittographies have crept into the text, and this system was abandoned in later times. In my MS. 150, as well as in all the other old MSS., we do not find any trace of such lengthened letters, but instead, marks and parts of letters as I have just mentioned. The first trace of such lengthened letters I find in the Epigraph of Cod. Tshufutkale 36 (*Chwolson*, No. 106), dating from 930. An epoch of transition between the two systems must have supervened when both were used alternately. It would be important to follow up this question much further.

A short Massora accompanies our text, just as is the case in those other ancient MSS., but it is only scanty compared with that which accompanies later MSS. The so-called Massora Parva is inserted between the lines, and parts of the Massora marginalis are to be found on the upper and lower margin.

But palæographic reasons alone would not exhaust the extreme value of this MS. It is not only carefully written in three columns to each page, 24 lines to each column, with Massoretic notes, with vowels and accents, and the division of the text into sections, indicating at each section the number of verses in it, and at the end of each book that of the whole, but, and above all, because it has illuminations throughout, executed in the finest manner, and carefully worked out. Each page is enclosed in a frame consisting of five lines in blue or black and one of gold. Between the columns there are in each space three small rosettes, the middle one being somewhat larger, and on all the pages, almost equally arranged so as to divide the space between the columns into equal sections. These rosettes vary in different pages, and are very carefully drawn and filled with gold. They are sometimes small circles and circlets divided into six or eight intersecting parts and small blue ringlets at the extremities. In other places they are a kind of a central star surrounded by polygonal drawings, and enclosed in a blue circle, the centre being always red, and the whole filled with gold. Similar rosettes are sometimes placed inside the text, where in our editions are to be found the smaller empty spaces known as "Setumoth." At the commencement of the weekly division of the text they sometimes stand in a row of three. In the middle of the outer margin there were, and in some instances one can still see, large beautiful designs of flowers and other ornaments, often on a blue rich ground, and filled with gold and red, all of exquisite workmanship. The leaves of the MS. have, however, been in the hands of vandals, as in most of the pages the central portion of the outer border has been torn and otherwise mutilated. This has also happened to many of the illuminations inside the text. Sufficient however has remained to allow us to form an opinion as to the richness and beauty of the original. Nothing like it is known to exist, and this is so far the first instance of ancient Hebrew Bibles with illuminations.

Many a question arises now out of the study of these illuminations. Firstly, were they added afterwards, or were they originally in the MS., *i.e.*, contemporary with the writing of the Hebrew? There is no difficulty in answering this question. The lines on the border, and of the internal divisions between the columns are older than the writing, for this passes, in many instances, over those lines, and the letters obliterate the line of the border. The reverse would have

taken place had it been that the writing was older, for then these would have obliterated the text. The next question is as to the country in which these illuminations were made? From the writing of the text, we cannot form any definite opinion as to the country of the original. It might just as well have been written in Palestine, as in Syria or in ancient Babylon. The character of the MSS. from all those countries is almost the same. The Text may have been written in Palestine, but it is somewhat difficult to account for these illuminations. The Byzantine style as shown in those MSS. of Genesis mentioned above, or in the famous Cosmas, is totally different from the motives which we find in our MS. These resemble completely the designs found a little later in Persian MSS. There are no Persian illuminated MSS. as old as our text, and we must draw our inferences from later specimens. But the style and the technique are absolutely identical. In MSS. of the Qoran written in Persia we find some of these ornaments, flowers and rosettes interspersed in the text, and borders of a similar nature surrounding it. But, as I said, these are all much more modern than our Bible. The local provenance of this MS. favours a Persian origin of the illuminations. It comes from the neighbourhood of ancient Babylon, and the history of the Jews in Babylon is an additional proof in its favour. Such a MS. could only have been written for a very exalted personage. Men of this kind did not exist in Palestine crushed as the Jews were under the rule of Byzance, and impoverished through the rush of the hordes from Arabia. Only in Babylon were there men of prominent standing. In the first place, the descendant from the Royal House of David, occupying the position of prince and acknowledged political head of the Jews, rich, powerful, at times a Mæcenas, and certainly the right person for whom such a MS. could be written. There were, also, the heads of the Colleges enjoying great reputation, but not so much blessed with worldly possessions as the Prince of the Exile. These practically cease to exist towards the end of the 10th century, and if, therefore, my conjectures are correct, that the MS. belongs to the 9th or 10th century, and if it was either written or illuminated in ancient Babylon, we may then safely assume that it may have belonged to one of these Princes, and is now a precious relic of bygone greatness.

But this has not come alone to us. Together with this fragment of what once must have been a magnificent copy of the Pentateuch,

I possess also fragments of a no less remarkable MS. of the Hagiographa, also of a similar date, and covered with beautiful illuminations, but of a totally different character. This MS. contains a portion of the Book of Psalms (close upon thirty Psalms), and some of the leaves on parts of Proverbs, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes. They also have marginal Massoretic notes, but this text is not divided into columns. Only the Psalms are written in the form of hemy-stichs, a blank space dividing each line into two not equal halves. This text (my Cod. Or. 151), as well as that of the Pentateuch (Cod. 150), follow the Massoretic tradition known as that of Ben Asher. He certainly cannot be looked upon as the author of this system, but only as the best known exponent of it, who probably has summed up and systematised the work of generations before him. In our MS. we find in Ps. lxii, 4, the name of R. Pinehas "Rosh Yeshibah," the "Maḥazora rabba," as well as the "Bene Tiberia," all predecessors to Ben Asher. I may mention by the way that this very passage occurs in Norzi's Massoretic Commentary to the very same verse in Psalms, the source of which was hitherto unknown; he had probably taken it from a similar MS. The name of R. Pinehas occurs also in the *Dikduke Soferim*, ed. Baer and Strack, p. 14, as one of the old Massorites, before Ben Asher.

The blank space between the verses and round the titles of the Psalms, as well as the blank lines between the text in Ecclesiastes, are filled in with most curious illuminations in gold. Floral patterns and patterns of circles and leaves, of small spirals and buds are interwoven very curiously. Round the margins, there are not only small circles of gold, and bands consisting of the same patterns as those inside the text, but also in various places other patterns of decoration such as beads, geometrical figures and spirals. The two corners of the outside border are ornamented with large flowers in gold and dark blue. These decorations are, however, throughout totally unlike those of the Pentateuch. Yet there cannot be any doubt as to the identical origin of the two MSS. Not only do they come from the same locality, but everything points to a common origin. These are thus far the only specimens of ancient Hebrew book illuminations, and they open up a vista of an art of which nothing had hitherto been known to have flourished among the Jews of those times. They show also, that at a certain time such MSS. were appreciated, which denotes a high standard of culture and richness. The patterns are more like Egyptian than Persian, and still less

connected with Byzantine art. In this respect these MSS. are also of the highest importance for the history of oriental illuminations, and more especially of that which flourished in Egypt and Persia, and which in later times was transplanted to India. These are thus far the oldest specimens in existence. This would be one addition more to those things which were saved from destruction through their connection with Jewish literature. These and two other ancient MSS. in my possession (Codd. 149 and 152), containing fragments of the Pentateuch and Hagiographa of a similar date, very much like Codd. 150 and 151 in their external form, are at the same time as many new additions to the limited number of ancient Biblical MSS.

There is one point more on which I wish to dwell, namely, the peculiar fact, that the form of writing of the Pentateuch MS., and of the Codex Babylonicus and those identical with them, seems to have been transplanted in later times to Spain. Ancient Spanish Hebrew Codices show a great similarity with this peculiar form, which to all intents and purposes may be put down as the old Palestinian, although one or another of these MS. may have been actually written elsewhere. The scribe must have served his apprenticeship in Palestine, or have been trained under a master from that country, which was the recognised home of the study of the Bible and the Massorah; or he may have emigrated from Palestine to other countries, where he found better remuneration for his work. Spain seems to have been in closer contact with Palestine, and to have inherited many a thing directly from that country, thus the Prayer Book and the Jerusalemite Talmud, as well as many special Midrashim. The writing in Yemen shows also a striking resemblance to this form which I call the Palestinian. This is in perfect harmony with the results to which I have obtained from the study of the literary monuments from Yemen. The Jews in South Arabia were, according to my investigation, indissolubly connected with the schools of Tiberias, and received their whole literature, in ancient times, directly from Palestine, and not from Babylon as has hitherto been assumed. The superlinear system of vocalisation, preserved mostly in MSS. coming from Yemen, is, to my mind, of *Palestinian* origin, and from *that* country comes therefore also the so called *Codex Babylonicus* in St. Petersburg, which I have called here regularly *Codex Petropolitanus*. There is no trace of Babylonia in it, but that name had been given to the Codex in consequence of the misnomer "Nikkud Ašuri" having been applied to that



system of vocalisation which had been translated falsely, "Assyrian," hence "Babylonian." In fact, however, it is just as little Babylonian as the form of Hebrew letters called in the 'Talmud "Ašuri," which means the square characters.\* The true home of that Codex will therefore have to be sought for in Palestine, and the misnomer of Babylonian System of Vocalisation, which is incorrect and misleading, may henceforth be dropped.

The other Codex of the Pentateuch in my possession (*Cod. Hebr.*, No. 149) resembles, as already remarked, on the one hand *Cod.* 150 and the Codex of the British Museum, but deviates a little from both, and approaches the peculiar form of the MS. of Karasubazar. The peculiarity common to these two MSS. is that some of the letters commence to lose their straight form and become somewhat undulating, wavy, as if the writers avoided right angles. Now this form of Hebrew writing appears in France, from the XIIth century on, and is probably still older. If there were older French MSS. I have no doubt that we would find in them the same form of writing. It is also that of the Jews in England of the pre-expulsion period.

Hebrew science in France has from very ancient times been connected directly with the high schools in Babylon and, it is more than once asserted that teachers from Babylon had visited France. It is too wide a subject to be treated here in any manner approaching its importance, but it is at any rate a very peculiar coincidence that cannot be the result of mere chance. If it were standing alone, chance might be invoked, although it could by no means explain the double coincidence in the writing of Spain with the Palestinian, and that of France with that other which I call the *Babylonian*, for this seems to be the origin of that kind of writing. But through the whole history of Jewish literature, one can discern this double stream of tradition, and it is therefore only natural to find the same parallelism now corroborated also by ancient Hebrew palæography.

In this manner these MSS. contribute, by their illuminations, to the elucidation of an obscure chapter in Jewish art, and, by the character of the writing, to the history of Hebrew calligraphy. They moreover throw an unexpected light upon the close relation, in every detail, in which the Jews of Europe stood to the communities of Palestine and Babylon. I must leave it for another occasion to give in detail the yield of these MSS. for the text of the Bible.

\* V. Levy, "Talmud Wörth.," s.v., I, 181.



I will limit my remarks to a few instances. Both MSS. belong to the Western Recension, that of Palestine. In the Pentateuch as well as in the Hagiographa the Massoretic notes of the Massora Parva and Marginalis are comparatively less in number than in later texts. So far as the Pentateuch is concerned not one single note refers to the vowels in the Massora Parva, and but three to accents. In the Massora Marginalis in one instance the vowels are given for all the parallels and variations. In the small Massora we find not only the terms "Mehalephim" and "Sebir," but also in one instance instead of the term "Sebir" noted in other MSS. it is replaced by the term דחיו ליה (ad. Deut. xxxi, 20). Of a similar character are the Massoretic notes in the Hagiographa, but many more interesting notes are in the margin, such as the quotation from the "Mahazora rubba" (to Ps. lxii, 4), differing from that in Ginsburg's edition. Similarly we find to Ps. lxi, 3, the marginal gloss: **בס אדני מעו**. Ginsburg has: **סיני**. It is an hitherto unknown model Codex called "Adonai"! Ps. ci, 3, has no Keri for **"עשה"** and **שטים** instead of **שטים** in the text.

More interesting than these variations, which can easily be multiplied, is the curious fact, that we find here some of the Massoretic Marginal notes on top and at the bottom of the page written with the vowel signs of the superlinear system of Vocalisation, side by side with the other system. The words thus punctuated are quotations from the Bible, and similar quotations on the same leaf (fol. 3a), have the usual vowel signs. The same occurs in the parallel Codex (No. 152), written probably by the same hand, but without any illuminations. There also on fol. 22a and fol. 23a the superlinear system is used side by side with the infralinear. The Massorites of one school were evidently well acquainted also with the other system, and did not hesitate to use both. They must have assumed like knowledge also among the readers of these MSS.

Five years have elapsed since the foregoing paper was written and read before the Society for Biblical Archaeology; since that time many fragments of old Hebrew MSS. have come to light from the Genizah of the old Fostat close to Cairo. A large number of these fragments have come into my possession, and among them have I found one small fragment of a MSS. similar to the above. It is quite minute, but it suffices to show the existence of at least one more Hebrew Codex of Psalms with floral decorations and with gold

painting. This gold is not the same as in the other Texts; it is leaf-gold. The fragment measures about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 3 in. One can still detect on the obverse in the middle of Ps. cv, 26, a small trace, and on the edge of the reverse a beautiful border with a flower in the centre and some floral decoration at the beginning of Ps. cvi. As each line is equivalent with one verse, it is obvious that the whole page contained originally 19 lines and formed a small but illuminated Quarto. At the foot there is a trace of a Massoretic note and the division is also marked on the margin with "Samech." Originally the leaf must have contained Ps. cv, 22-Ps. cvi, 7.

For completeness' sake and in order to follow up as far as possible the origin of these motives of decoration, I have added a few specimens of ink decorations somewhat similar to the golden, found in other fragments from the Genizah.

Among the Caraitic MSS. of the British Museum there is one of the tenth century (Or 2540), containing fragments of the Hebrew Pentateuch, written however in the Arabic character, not in the usual Hebrew. The text is accompanied by vowels and a primitive set of accents. In this probably the oldest known specimen of an Arabic-Hebrew text, written very likely for a Caraitic prince, we find a few gold ornaments and illuminations similar to those of the Hagiographa. The same form of leaves and of geometrical ornamentation occurs in this Arabic Pentateuch as in the other MS., but they are much smaller and very few in number. Not one of them resembles the rosettes and the other ornaments of the Hebrew Pentateuch, except the fact that the Codex of the British Museum has also a floral large decoration in the middle of the page, on the edge of the first leaf just as is the case with my Codex 150. The colours are less vivid and fewer in number and the gold used is merely leaf-gold, as in the small fragment of Psalms. The copyist of the British Museum MS. had already deviated entirely from the old rules prescribed for writing the Sacred Scriptures. The Text is transliterated in Arabic characters, and one can understand that under such conditions he felt justified to add also illuminations. Hebrew Biblical Texts with illuminations are thus far only those of which two full pages are given here in facsimile, together with the reproduction of most of the ornaments found in the other pages.

One small incident may now be mentioned in conclusion.

It so happened that I had left these MSS. with Messrs Vincent Brooks, Day and Co., for some length of time in order to prepare

the facsimiles. They had been with the firm upwards of two years, when I suddenly was seized with the fear that they were exposed to the danger of being destroyed by fire. So strong was that feeling, that I went straight to the place with the intention of getting the MSS. back. On the way I allowed myself to be persuaded that I was needlessly exciting myself, and I left the MSS. where they were. This happened on the Friday before Easter, 1898. On Monday morning the first item which struck my eyes when opening "The Times" newspaper, was the report that the premises of Messrs Vincent Brooks, Day and Co., had been burned down in the night of Sunday to Monday. The MSS. had been placed in a safe in the office of the building, and the access was almost impossible. For two days the fate of the MS. was uncertain. But when we were able to penetrate to the safe, to our great delight the MSS., round which the fire must have played, were found intact. I trust that this has been the last ordeal to which they have been exposed in their long life of close upon one thousand years, and that a place may soon be found where they will remain safe from danger as far as human foresight can devise.



A SAMARITAN SCROLL OF THE HEBREW  
PENTATEUCH.

BY DR. M. GASTER.

Up to a short time ago not a single copy of the Hebrew Samaritan Text of the Pentateuch in Scroll-form was known to exist outside the Samaritan community in Nablus. The codices of this text which had reached Europe from the XVIIth century, on and upon which the edition in the Paris and the London Polyglott rests, were all, without exception, in Book-form. In the first Appendix to Nutt's edition of the "Fragments of a Samaritan Targum" which appeared in 1874, Prof. Harkavy was still able to write as follows: "In the year 1870, the Russian Minister of public worship purchased from the well-known Karaite traveller and archæologist, Abraham Firkowitsch, his collection of Samaritan MSS. for the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. It consists almost exclusively of fragments; this circumstance arising from the fact that the collector, during his stay in Nablus and Egypt, completely ransacked the Samaritan Genizoth (that is to say, the garrets and cellars of the synagogues, whither their worn-out books were conveyed), thus acquiring several fragments of Samaritan Pentateuch rolls—*none of which have before this, to the writer's knowledge, ever reached Europe.*" Later on, in classifying the materials purchased from Firkowitsch, Harkavy says the first division will consist of "fragments belonging to twenty-seven parchment Pentateuch rolls. None of this kind, as has been already remarked, have hitherto been discovered in any European library, all the existing ones being in the shape of books; the reason of this appears to be that the Samaritans hold such rolls as especially sacred, from their being intended for use in the Synagogues, and so will part with them for no sum, however large, to those of another faith." And further on: "Be this as it may, these fragments have been till now the only ones known in Europe, and so they are of considerable importance for explaining to us how the Samaritans write the Sacred Law for use in Divine

worship. Unfortunately, as might have been guessed from the place where they were found, they are for the most part in bad condition, and as Samaritan palæography is not yet in a condition to decide with certainty upon the age of an undated MS., it is only such as contain dated epigraphs whose age can be without doubt ascertained. Only six of the fragments contain such notices, and only three of this number have their dates perfect; one (No. 4) was written (A.H. 599 =) 1202-3; another (No. 10) in (A.H. 605 =) 1208-9; the third (No. 15) in (A.H. 808 =) 1405: it is, however, quite certain that several other fragments in the collection belong to a much earlier age. It is interesting to notice the way in which the Samaritans insert these epigraphs in the Pentateuchs. For this purpose the column of text in the roll or page of the book is divided down the middle by two perpendicular lines, the interval between the lines being left vacant, except for the insertion of such letters from the text as serve the writer to compose the epigraph."

This extract from Prof. Harkavy's note is of extreme value, as it shows that up to 1870 no scroll of the Samaritan-Hebrew text was known to exist in any library in Europe. The importance of the scroll has not been sufficiently gauged by Harkavy, and the value which this form of sacred writing of the Text of the Bible has for the study of ancient palæography. He has, furthermore, omitted to touch upon the relation in which the Samaritan Scroll stands to the Hebrew Scroll of the Jews.

Since that time a few fragments have been incorporated into the library of the British Museum, and one has come into my possession. The oldest fragment in the British Museum is ascribed to the XIIth or XIIIth century, it contains Num. xvi, 1-xxvi, 22, altogether eleven chapters (Or. 2686).

Before describing my own fragment, which reaches from Deut. xxvii, 1 up to the End of the Pentateuch, it is necessary to dwell more fully on the importance which this text in the Scroll-form has for the study of Biblical archæology in general, and for the internal history of the sacred scrolls of the Pentateuch in particular. Prof. Harkavy has drawn attention merely to the fact that, through these unique fragments we are now in a better position to ascertain the way in which the Samaritans wrote their sacred Scroll. But the Samaritans must have followed older examples, and in the comparison with such lies, to my mind, the greatest value of the Scroll of the Samaritan recension.

Another point of no mean importance which claims the attention of the Bible student, is that up to now the comparison between the Hebrew text of the Samaritan recension as such, with that of the Jews, not from the graphical side, but from that of the text carried out by the scholars of the last two centuries has been based exclusively on the Book-form, no Scroll being available for that purpose. In my study on the Illuminated Bibles I have taken occasion to accentuate the essential difference which exists between the Book-form and the Scroll. The former is the *profane* text, left in the hands of the people for any use they choose to make of it, not hedged in by any of the numerous prescriptions which hold good only and solely in the case of the Scroll. The Books are not used in religious service, nay, they are distinctly forbidden to be made use of in that way. The Book becoming the "Vulgate," will easily be corrupted, mistakes will creep in, and even the most accurate injunctions and directions given by the authors of the Massora have not prevented corruptions from getting into these texts. Not so, however, is the condition of the Scroll, which is used in the religious service. Most stringent directions are laid down for the scribe; he must pay scrupulous attentions to them, and the community which is to make use of these Scrolls is guided by similar laws. The slightest deviation from these laws at once annuls the *sacred* character of the text, and unless speedily corrected—as long as such corrections are compatible with the character of the passage, and they do not extend beyond certain minute defects, none of any grave import—the Scroll is at once removed from the service.

Anxious to obtain the most accurate version of such a text, we must necessarily turn to the only source where we have reason to expect of finding it least tainted by faults of scribes, and preserved in as perfect a manner as possible. For these reasons the comparison between the two recensions of the Hebrew text must be taken up anew, and carried out, not as hitherto, with the aid of the Book, but with that of the Scrolls of the Pentateuch. As far as I am aware, no such Scroll has yet been published, and it is therefore difficult to say in what relation the Book-form stands to the Scroll. It cannot be doubted that of the two the Scroll is the earlier, and that the Book-form depends entirely upon the Scroll, which is the more accurate, for it is *sacred*. The Book will unquestionably contain the most characteristic readings of the Scroll, but the number of devia-



tions of the Samaritan from the Massoretic text is so great, and so large a proportion of these deviations have been shown to be due to scribes' errors and to later attempts to improve the text, that a new revision is indispensable. Only then when this has been carried out with minute accuracy, shall we be in a position to ascertain with some versimilitude the true relation between the two recensions of the Hebrew text.

Even the text of the Book is not invariably the same, as is well known. I have compared some leaves from Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuchs in my possession, of extreme antiquity, at least as old as Cod. Or. 1443 British Museum (XIIIth century), if not older, with the printed Samaritan text of the Pentateuch in the London Polyglott, and even therein have I found differences. How much more likely is it then to anticipate similar results from a comparison between the Books and the Scrolls? I might mention on this occasion that I possess Dr. Kennicott's copy of the Samaritan text which he had cut out from the Polyglott, and interleaved, and to which he has added some marginal notes.

But before proceeding to the textual criticism, the graphical aspect claims special consideration. Among the Jews a peculiar code of laws obtains, the antiquity of which is somewhat difficult to establish, which regulates the correct writing of the Scroll for the use in the Synagogue. Most minute regulations are laid down, and detailed injunctions are formulated, for the writing of such a Scroll. The material, the ink, the size, the form of each letter, and in each case the exceptions from these rules are all carefully noted. The blemishes which would annul the validity of such a Scroll, the way how to mend them, and a clear statement of the mistakes which are considered irreparable. We have then rules as to the number of letters and lines on each column, the spacing of the letters and of the lines, the margin which is allowed to each column, the minor divisions of the text, and the final form of the Book or Scroll; the way in which the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy and in Exodus are to be written, each in a distinct form of alternating hemistiches.

To all these questions, and many more that belong to the hitherto neglected chapter of Biblical palaeography, the Book-form is unable to give any satisfactory answer. Some of the more important elements, such as the divisions of the text, on which I shall have to dwell later on, are retained, to a certain extent, by the Book; but even herein have I been able to find serious

divergences between the MS. of the British Museum and the corresponding portion in the Scroll, notably in the writing of Deuteronomy, chapter xxxii. Of minor points I mention that the signs, dots, etc., at the end of the verse, and those that are found in some instances in the middle, differ also greatly in MSS. It is evident that in copying the text from the Scroll on to a leaf neither the line nor the column have been reproduced with any fidelity. We moreover never find the text written in two or three columns to the pages, as is the case with the oldest MSS. of the Jewish Book-recension. The form adopted in some Books is the line across the whole page. However insignificant these details may appear, they have their importance, they form part of the history of the Bible in its transmission from ancient times, and though apparently touching merely the outward side, they show even in these minor points whether the scribe remained uninfluenced by the currents of the day in which he wrote, and may therefore be trusted, or whether he followed the example of the Greek or the Roman, the Syrian or Arabian scribe. Did he preserve the ancient tradition faithfully, or was he influenced by extraneous examples? and if it be an ancient tradition, did he, in the case of a Samaritan, follow a tradition akin to that which held sway among the Jews? or had he an independent tradition to guide him in preparing a *sacred* Scroll? Identity between the two would at once show the extreme antiquity of such a tradition.

The difficulties in the path of such an inquiry are great. In the first instance Jewish Scrolls of the Law are not dated, and I even doubt whether the Samaritan have any dates. The remark of Harkavy which I quoted above is vague, and may refer only to the Book-form, and not to the Scroll. Of the fragments of the latter, as far as I have been able to ascertain, with the exception of my own MS., there is none in the British Museum and in the Bodleian containing the final portion of the Pentateuch, usually the place for such an epigraph. Very old Scrolls of the Law, in order to save them from possible profanation, have as a rule been buried, or, what is tantamount to burial, they have been hidden away in a secret place in or near the Synagogue, the "Genizah" from which those fragments in St. Petersburg and elsewhere have since emerged. From the moment that so-called "Model-codices" were endowed with vowel signs and accents, they could no longer serve as Originals for the writing of a sacred Scroll. Such texts would much more mislead than

lead. If a text is to serve as a "model" for the Scroll, it must be the *bare* text of the Pentateuch without any addition whatsoever. Everything in the shape of point or accent is rigorously excluded from the Scroll. No trace of verses or chapters, with the exception of those divisions of which I shall speak presently, is allowed; and great attention is paid to the arrangement of the columns and lines. The "model" must represent the very copy of the Law as it appears in the Scroll, and must be, if possible, written in such a manner as to provide all the required elements for a perfect copy. The scribe has only to follow that model faithfully in order to obtain an accurate sacred Scroll. Of such "model" codices, which are thus entirely different from the famous Massoretic Codices of Ben Asher, or other leading authorities, and wrongly called by that name, scarcely one single old copy seems to have been preserved.

Of the Standard MSS. of the Pentateuch mentioned by Dr. Ginsburg in his "Introduction to the Bible" (p. 429 ff.), the majority have disappeared. As far as one can judge by the quotations, they seem to have belonged mostly to the Massoretic type, and to have contained vowels and accents and Massoretic marginal notes. It is not unlikely, however, that one or the other, such as the "Jerusalemite" and the "Jeriho" Codex, and above all the Codex "Ezra," may have been such "Standard" codices; but in the absence of more ample evidence it is impossible to go any further. The reference of Maimonides to the famous Codex so often corrected by Ben Asher (Hilkhoth Sefer Torah, ch. viii), proves this "Model" or Standard Codex to have been also one of those codices in Book-form, and not a Scroll, as it contained all the books of the Bible, Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. Maimonides relied on it for the correct readings and for other details connected with the internal accuracy of the Scroll, but he could not have used it as a "Model codex" to copy his Scroll from it directly. He expressly states that "he relied in all these things on the copy so well known in Egypt, which contained the twenty-four books of the Bible, and had formerly been in Jerusalem, where they used to correct their Scrolls in accordance with its readings, as Ben Asher had corrected it and gone over it many times, improving it." No such correction would be tolerated in the Scroll. A Scroll written by some great authority may have occasionally served as a Model for another, but the difficulty of handling such a sacred Scroll, and the danger of injury were so great that the experiment, if ever made, would

certainly not be often repeated. Profane model codices must have existed, and there can be no doubt as to such guides and models from very ancient times, which exhibited all the peculiarities of the Hebrew Text, such as used in the Scroll of the Synagogue. They have perished, through the constant use to which they have been put, and with them some of those old traditions. Since the discovery of printing such a "Tiqqun," as it is called, has often been printed to serve as a guide to the scribe, the last printed is one prepared and published by the well-known Massoretic scholar, the late Dr. Baer. The lines in some of these prints are so arranged as to correspond entirely with the prescriptions holding good for the Scroll.

In spite of the extreme anxiety to preserve it as correct as possible, various traditions developed; some of them embodied in the Massorah, others alluded to in ancient writings, or found in such Model codices. They refer to "scriptio plena" and "defectiva," to Open (פתורה) and Closed Sections (סתומה), to the form in which the Songs of Moses in Exodus and in Deuteronomy were to be written. Minor or greater discrepancies and differences in tradition led to the desire of having one Standard codex of the Law. Maimonides tried to establish one; others did the same. In this process some of the old peculiarities have disappeared. Should I be spared to publish the only old Model Codex of the Pentateuch which has preserved among other things those "Tittles," which have disappeared from our Scrolls as far back as the time of Maimonides, I may then dilate on this change and on many others, and treat then of the origin of the Scroll which obtains in all the Synagogues of Europe. It is an interesting chapter in the history of the Bible, which has escaped hitherto the investigations of the scholars. In the endeavour to establish such a Standard Codex, the best and oldest texts available were laid under contribution at that time, and a new Model or Standard MS. was then established. The old tradition was most faithfully preserved, only differences adopted by different schools of Massorites were to a certain extent adjusted, and certain graphical details omitted. No new elements were introduced, and the old tradition concerning the Law in the form of a Scroll, which goes back to the time prior to the introduction of the Accents and Vowels, is faithfully reflected in this, the latest model Codex.

The first known attempt to fix the tradition goes back to the VIIth or VIIIth century, and is found in the Treatise Soferim,

which deals also with the Liturgy. Scattered notes in the Talmudic writings are there focussed for the first time. The treatise, however, is incomplete in many ways. Responsa emanating from various heads of Colleges in Babylon, Gaonim, as they were called, supplement some of these lacunæ. Mr. Elkan Adler has recovered from the Cairo Genizah another extremely old treatise about the writing of the Scroll of the Law, dating probably from the XIth century (published by him in 1897), and Maimonides has inserted in his great Work all the laws considered obligatory for the correct writing of such a Scroll, giving minute directions about all those points enumerated above, and also indicating the mechanical way how the writing was to be done, how the proper measures for the parchment and the columns in them were to be taken.

Without entering into all the minutiae we may at once ask how does the Samaritan Scroll compare with this corpus of rules and prescriptions? To start from the writing in the "Book" would be a thankless task, considering that it differs essentially from the Scroll in almost every detail of execution, and the edition based as it is upon that form follows it in every respect. Only to mention one fact, there are no chapters indicated in the Scroll, and therefore the division which has been adopted for the edition is entirely misleading; it is not found in the text of the Scroll.

A brief description of the MS. which forms the basis of this investigation may now precede the critical examination of the writing. This MS. contains the last portion of the Law: Deuteronomy, chapter xxvii to the End of the Book. It is written in a fine and exceedingly clear hand. No date and no epigraph are found in this end of the Book. The age can be approximately fixed by comparing this fragment with the British Museum MSS., and above all with the fragment of the Samaritan Targum published by Nutt. The letters show a more archaic ductus than in the MSS. of the British Museum, of which one is ascribed to the XVth and the other to the XIIth or XIIIth century. Considering that our fragment resembles the Targum fragments, which Nutt placed, latest, in the XIth century, we may fairly claim the same age also for this fragment. The only guide in matters of palæography is the similarity of certain forms at a given period, and the invariable law that the older a MS. is, the more clear is the writing and the more accurate the execution. The heavy and large type of the Book form, of which I have specimens at least as old as those of



the British Museum of the XIIth century, prove nothing against the finer writing of the Scroll. The scrolls in the British Museum are also written in the same small fine type which we find in the old fragment of the Targum.

The lower margin of the Scroll has perished, the Scroll having been hidden away for many a century in the old Genizah—as I believe, of Nablus. It has come into my possession, together with other fragments, some six or seven years ago, but I cannot give any further details as to the way in which they came into my hands.

If the MSS. in the St. Petersburg Library are not older than this fragment, which I ascribe to the Xth or XIth century, then this may be the oldest known fragment of the Samaritan Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. It is written on vellum, which seems to have been prepared in a somewhat different manner from that used in the Books. It is white, not even a shade of colour on it, unlike the leaves in the Book, and evidently prepared in the same manner as the vellum is prepared by the Jews for the Scroll, for which only the skins of “clean” animals can be used. The fragment consists of two such skins sewn together with hemp, contrary to the custom of the Jews, who employ only sinews of the same animals. The length of the whole skin is divided into columns, the space between the columns being half an inch, corresponding entirely with the prescriptions laid down for the proportions to be observed at given sizes of skins used. The first skin is divided into four columns of equal width, with an equal number of lines in each column. The length of the line corresponds with that prescribed by the Jews, and shows absolute identity with the manner in which the Jews write the Scroll, viz., long lines, and not narrow lines and columns, as found in books and in the oldest Greek MSS. of the Bible. The Samaritan books are also written with long lines across the page.

The distance between the lines is equal to the size of the letters, as is the rule with the Jewish Scroll. In the writing of the words there is a marked difference, for in the Samaritan text they are separated by dots, whilst no dot or other diacritical sign is allowed in the Jewish text. The parchment has first been marked by lines drawn with an iron point all the length of it, a similar line running down the left end of the last column in each skin. The letters are written under these lines, just as in the Jewish text, where, according to the law, the Scroll is valueless unless the lines are pre-



viously drawn for the writer, and the letters written under and not on or over the lines. The number of lines in each column seems to agree also with the traditional number, there are at least forty-seven on each column, about ten to twelve are missing; the traditional minimum for the Jews is forty-two, the maximum sixty. This maximum is evidently not overstepped in the Samaritan. The length of the line allows a sufficient number of words on each line. According to the law each line must contain at least thirty letters, except in the case of incomplete lines at the end of one of the old divisions of the text. The number of letters in the Samaritan Scroll exceeds the maximum.

Three divisions at least are known in connection with the text of the Pentateuch, viz., the open and closed Sections and the Sedarim. The latter has entirely disappeared from the European texts of the Bible; it has been retained however in the Eastern MSS., hailing from Yemen and from Persia. The "Sedarim" are not of the same age as the first two divisions, and are seldom, if ever, mentioned in the older portions of the Talmudical writings; they have probably never been introduced into the Scroll. These divisions may be compared on the whole to the chapters of the more recent division of the Bible. The relation in which the "Sedarim" stand to the other two divisions of the text has not yet been clearly established, in spite of the assertion often repeated, but not proved, that they represent the divisions of the Bible for the reading in a three-years' cycle. The prevalent custom is to finish the whole Pentateuch in the course of one year, subdividing the text into fifty-two or fifty-three portions; but in some places the reading took three years, and in consequence thereof the text was divided into 150 or more small sections. However alluring this hypothesis may be, it is none the less difficult to reconcile it with the fact that we have more than 160 such sections. Dr. Ginsburg, following the tradition of the Oriental MSS., has inserted them in his edition of the Bible. In most cases the Sedarim coincide either with the "Open" or with the "Closed" sections.

The "Open" section is of two kinds: either the previous section closes in the middle of a line, when space must be left free for writing of at least three triliteral words; or the line goes on to the end, and then a whole line is left blank, and the next section begins with a new line. The "Closed" section is also of a twofold character: first when the previous section comes to an end in the middle of

line, then the space for nine letters is left open, and at least one word of the following section is written in the same line, or secondly the line finishing the previous section reaches the very end, or comes so close to it that no free space for nine letters and one word is left, in which case the following section begins, not "a linea," but with a free space, more like a new paragraph. No satisfactory explanation for these two forms of dividing the text has yet been found, and the tradition concerning them is not so uniform as one could wish, especially having regard to the fact that to change one for the other in the Scroll is equivalent with invalidating it. So much stress was laid upon the maintenance of these divisions, that it suffices for the scribe to substitute an Open for a Closed section, or *vice versâ*, to have the Scroll declared unfit for divine service. (Cf. Ginsburg, Introduction, p. 9 ff., and the list of a different tradition of Closed Sections in Appendix I, p. 977 ff.)

If we turn now to the Samaritan Scroll, we see that the columns are also divided into smaller sections, consisting mostly of more than five verses, some only of two or three verses, especially in the last chapter of Deuteronomy. They seem to be all like Open Sections of the Jewish text, a whole blank line separating one section from the other. In some instances the last line of the section is extended in an artificial manner; in order not to allow the last half to be empty, the last two or three words are written with so wide a space between the letters that they reach the very end of the line. When the last line consists merely of one or two words no attempt is made to extend the few letters over the whole space of a long line. In a few instances the last word, if there is only one more to be written, is placed at the left end of the blank line which separates one section from the other. The Book-form has retained these divisions with some faithfulness, and they are also reproduced in the printed edition.

How old these divisions are can best be gauged by the fact ascertained by me through the comparison with old Greek and Syriac MSS. of the Bible, that these also have similar divisions, and that they agree in many cases, if not in all, with the divisions of the Hebrew text; but as far as I have been able to gather, the finer differences between Open and Closed as made in the two forms of the Hebrew original are not as carefully observed. The divisions in the Greek and Syriac sometimes coincide with the Open, and at other times with the Closed, but more often with

the Open than with the Closed division. In comparing the Samaritan with the Jewish text we obtain exactly the same results. Most of the divisions in the Samaritan coincide with the Jewish divisions, but they are much more numerous in the Samaritan text than in the Jewish, especially in comparison with the Jewish Open sections.

The Open sections seem to be the older of the two classes, for with them coincide as a rule also the Sedarim and the Parashiyoth, *i.e.*, the larger divisions and the Pericopes. It would be premature to speculate on the origin of these sections, or on the relation that may exist between them and the Synagogal service. I trust that others will take up this question and continue the comparison of the divisions of the Hebrew recensions with those in the old translations. Much light will thus be thrown upon an obscure problem of biblical archæology.

Returning to our Samaritan text, we find the nearest approach to a Closed section in the first column of Deuteronomy xxxii. 16-26, but being antiphonal the text is written in a kind of hemistych. The Jewish text separates each verse from the following by a closed space, whilst the Samaritan divides each verse by a blank space in the very middle of it. A full blank line separates the last verse from the following portion, to which corresponds in the Jewish text the beginning of chapter xxviii, which is also an Open Section as well as the beginning of a Sedra. Here all the three forms of textual division coincide. The other divisions in the MS. are the following, as far as they are preserved in the upper portion of the MS.; the lower is mutilated and lost, having been destroyed by dampness. I give the first verse with which the Section begins:—xxviii, 27, 36, 49, 54, 56; xxix, 1 (top of the column), 9 (coinciding with Jewish Open Section, Sedra, and Parasha), 13, 21, 30; xxx, 15 (top of column); xxxi, 1 (also Jewish Open Section and Parasha), 7, 9, 14 (also Jewish Sedra and Open Section), 16, (25?), 30; xxxii, 1 (also Jewish Open Section, Sedra, and Parasha); xxxiii, 12, 13, 18, 20, 22, 24, 28; xxxiv, 1, 5, 8, 10.

These examples show how close the connection is in the outward form between the two recensions of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and at the same time how old this traditional division of the text must be, as it is found in the Jewish and in the Samaritan. It is also noteworthy that the final chapter of the Pentateuch is so arranged in the Samaritan Scroll, as to reach the middle of the column, exactly

as it is prescribed for the Jewish recension, and is not brought down quite to the bottom of it.

Our fragment contains happily the Song of Moses and his Blessing (Deut. chaps. xxxii and xxxiii). Concerning the former special rules are laid down for the writing thereof. The six preceding lines must commence with certain fixed words, and after the conclusion five lines are similarly arranged. The Song itself must be written in the form of hemistychs, not that each verse is being divided into two halves, but each *line* is divided into two halves; as Maimonides puts it, "each line has a space in the middle in the likeness of a Closed Section." There are thus verses consisting of four or even five such hemistychs, others only of two, according to their length. In order to prevent confusion a list of initial words has been established from ancient times, and the initials of the six portions into which this chapter is divided at the service in the Synagogue is already mentioned in the Talmud (Rosh ha-shana, 31a). Maimonides gives a complete list of the initial words of all the hemistychs (Hilkoth Sef. Torah, ch. 8), the whole Song being written in seventy lines.

Comparing now the Samaritan Scroll with these rules, we find the general principle observed, details only are disregarded. There are two Open Sections before the beginning separated merely by one verse, the lines are also divided in two halves, so that this column is no longer written with lines across the whole width but is broken up into two of equal size. The division does not follow exactly the Jewish tradition; the end of the verse does not always coincide with the end of a hemistych. The space in the middle is merely due to a mechanical division, but is dictated probably by the ancient tradition, that this portion must be written in hemistychs.

It is now very remarkable that the old Codex of the Museum of the XIIIth century (Or. 1443) follows exactly the Jewish massoretic tradition in the division of the verses and lines, coinciding absolutely with the rule given by Maimonides, and differing in this essential point from the old Scroll.

This coincidence proves if anything the greater antiquity of the Scroll over the Book, as the other practice obtained probably at a later period and under Jewish influences; it shows how little reliance can be placed even upon the oldest of the texts written in Book-form.

Diacritical points over the letters such as recorded by the

Massora for chap. xxix, 28, are missing in the Samaritan Codex, no dotted letters being found at all in it. Similarly there is no capital "He" in xxxii, 6 (הל"י); the Samaritan has the small letter as usual. On the other hand we find in the Samaritan text many signs that are wanting in the Jewish recension. Foremost among these the mark at the end of the verses. As far back as the middle of the VIIIth century we find R. Jehudai Gaon protesting against placing two dots at the end of a verse, and declaring a Scroll with such marks unfit for divine service (Adler, loc. c., p. 38). The practice of marking the end of the verse must therefore be much older. It is found in the Samaritan Scroll, but it must be noted that there are two different signs used, *viz.*, two perpendicular dots (:.) and two horizontal dots (..). In two or three instances the end is marked thus (·:). The Book form has still more dots and signs at the end of the Section, three dots like these (-·:) with the stroke in front of the third point. Further, the space between the sections is filled up with peculiar marks consisting of dots alternating with semi-circles and lines. In more modern copies we find a star with dots in the inner angles ✨. Not a single trace of these latter signs are to be found in the Scroll. The absence or presence of these signs will henceforth assist to fix the approximate date of a MS. In comparing the position where these dots occur in the Samaritan text with the Jewish, we find that as a rule the horizontal double dots ( ) are used in the *middle* of the verse where the disjunctive accents are used in the Bible, especially Athnah (א) and Zaqef qaton (:.) whilst the perpendicular mark as a rule is at the end of the verse, just as they are also found in the profane and in the printed texts. We may consider them as indicating generally the end of the verse, which however does not always agree with the end of the same verse in the Jewish recension. The use of these special dots is neither as regular nor as consistent in the printed Samaritan text. Instead of the horizontal (..) of the Scroll we find often in the print the vertical (:.) and *vice versâ*. Nor do we find in the Scroll the stroke over certain letters denoting as a rule abbreviations, which occur in some old MSS. in Book-form and are partly reproduced in the print. All these differences prove the superiority of the Scroll over the texts that have been preserved in the form of books. It is a far more true rendering of the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch. The parallelism between the Jewish and Samaritan Scroll shows further that the Samaritans followed on the



whole the same traditions which held sway among the Jews in regard to the manner in which such scrolls were to be written, and they thus strengthen the old tradition, and contribute to the hitherto neglected Biblical palæography a by no means unimportant chapter.

The differences examined up to now were differences in the writing and in the external form. No less important is the harvest which a thorough examination of the text itself is yielding. We must remember that in treating of the Sacred Text a single letter is of importance. The accuracy with which such Scrolls were written and are written by the Jews, and as a result of our inquiry we may say the same of the Samaritans, and the absolute identity in the general rules observed for that purpose, give a singular value to any deviation either from the Massoretic Jewish text or from the Samaritan Book form.

I am adding here a list of *variae lectiones* which I trust will again direct the attention of Biblical scholars to the Samaritan text.

In about 190 verses preserved in the Scroll we find now in List I about 250 differences from the Massoretic text. These differences can be divided into the following rubrics: (a) a copulative letter is *added* in the Samaritan, such as ׀ which occurs most frequently, then more sporadically ב, ל, ה (initial and final), and, in a few instances, נ; they amount to 59: (b) in 13 instances such letters are *omitted* in the Samaritan, whilst they are retained in the Massoretic text; (c) in four instances *words* are added in the Samaritan, and (d) five words found in the Massoretic are omitted in the former. More numerous than these are, (e) the differences in the "scriptio plena" and "defectiva"; in (a) no less than 63 cases a word which appears in the Massoretic text with the "scriptio defectiva," is written in the Samaritan with the "matres lectionis," (β) in 24 cases the Samaritan has the "defectiva" against the Massoretic text. Of far greater importance are (f) the variants in the readings of the text, (a) either words are *altered* in the Samaritan altogether, other words being substituted for them, or (β) in the word itself a certain change has been made, thus making alterations in the meaning of the word; of these, which may be considered the really important variants, we count about 50, including also more minute changes. Letters transposed in the same word belong to a separate group (g) which numbers only four examples, whilst one single word has been transposed in the same sentence. (h) Grammatical changes for the purpose of introducing greater harmony and



symmetry in the construction are represented, (*a*) by 19 cases in which the verb has been changed from singular in the Massoretic into the plural in the Samaritan, and two nouns; (*β*) in chap. xxxi, 11, the perfect has been substituted twice for the imperfect, and (*γ*) the reverse has also taken place twice; (*δ*) second for the third person, xxxiii, 28; (*ε*) third for the second, xxxi, 13; (*ζ*) first plural for third plural, xxxii, 27; (*ι*) the Keri for the Kethib, xxix, 21, and (*κ*) in two instances parts of a new verse (xxxii, 15) and a completely new verse (xxxiv, 1) have been introduced into the Samaritan Scroll. (*l*) More curious than these differences, which may be accounted for either by a somewhat different tradition, or by greater carelessness of copyists, not being checked by a "Massora," are orthographical differences, such as ך for Mass. ך (xxvii, 49; xxxiii, 25); ן for ן (xxviii, 52; xxix, 18; xxxii, 18, 22); ף for ף (xxxii, 24; xxxiv, 7); ם for ם (xxxii, 18); ם for ן (xxxii, 21; xxxiii, 20); ן for ן (xxxii, 24); and ם for ן (xxxiv, 1). The similarity between some of these letters in the Hebrew square writing would favour the theory, which has been put forward by some and alluded to by Gesenius (in his *De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine*, Hallae, 1815, pp. 16, 17), that the Samaritan text is a mere transcript from such a Hebrew Codex. It is, however, not impossible to suggest another explanation, viz., that the scribe wrote by dictation, or by repeating aloud the word read, and was thus guided as much by his ears as by his eyes. It is now a fact that these very letters are pronounced in the same manner by the Samaritans, hence the possibility of substituting a ן for ן, or ף for ף. The change, however, from ך to ך cannot be explained by this theory, but as this change is found only in two words of rare occurrence, the change is probably due to the desire (early traceable in the Samaritan recension) of correcting the text and of eliminating obscure passages from it. In both cases the words with ך are uncommon words, whilst those with ך are very common and well-known. Such a process of continual corruption and alteration can be followed up by comparing the Scroll with the Book form. It cannot be denied that both agree in the majority of cases, yet is there no absolute uniformity, and it will be seen (List II) that in not less than 17 instances the Scroll differs considerably from the Book and agrees with the Massoretic text. If we examine these 17 passages we find that in three cases it is a question of additional ך, in one of final ן, one is a "scriptio plena," and two are in plural for the singular, all these found in the Book against the Scroll and

the Massoretic text with which the Scroll agrees. The 11 remaining exceptions belong to the more important class of orthographical and textual variants, among these has the Book form three times  $\aleph$  against  $\eta$  of the Scroll and Mass., and once even  $\beth$  for  $\eta$  of the Mass. and Scroll; a proof more for the probable *oral* origin of these changes. In saying oral, I mean that the scribe listened either to the dictation of another or, having read the word, he copied it from memory, and, as remarked above, in Samaritan pronunciation no difference whatsoever is made between these letters, they all represent one and the same sound. We have now *seventeen* variations less between the oldest Samaritan text of the Pentateuch and the Massoretic text. Not an insignificant gain from so small a fragment. It is one of extreme importance, as it allows us to infer that, if we ever get a still older text of the Samaritan Scroll, the number of differences and discrepancies between the two recensions of the Hebrew text are sure to be sensibly diminished. Also the Book, imperfect though it is and much disfigured by scribes' errors and by interpolations and additions of an arbitrary character, it still retains here and there some readings which are due to the originals from which it has been copied. In a number of instances we find even the Book agreeing more closely with the Massoretic text than the Scroll; I have collected these examples in the third list. It will be seen that the majority of cases consists in differences of "scriptio plena" and "defectiva," the Scroll favouring as a rule the "plena," against the Book and the Massoretic, following therein the general tendency of the Samaritan recension.

These three lists by no means exhaust all the variations between the Massoretic and the Samaritan which have been noticed, *e.g.*, by Doederlein in his excellent but now forgotten edition of the Bible (Lipsiae, 1793). They are all, however, derived from other "Books," which could not be checked; they are missing in the Polyglott, and merely represent more cases of corruptions due to careless copyists. Their only value consists in the negative proof, showing as they do how easily the text had been corrupted and altered, not being protected by a "Massora." No trace of such a Massora has as yet been found in Samaritan MS.

In summing up the results obtained from the minute comparison between the Samaritan Scroll, the Book form, and the Hebrew Massoretic Text of the Pentateuch, we are forced to recognise that all rest upon one and the same old tradition. It must be very old,

if it operates with equal force on the Jews and on the Samaritans, who would do everything contrary to the Jews, but who must have considered those prescriptions of too sacred a character to be violated with impunity. The writing of the Scroll in its details follows the same lines as those laid down for the Massoretic. The text is subdivided in a manner which shows acquaintance with those divisions found in the Massoretic text. The agreement extends also as a rule not only to the verses, but also to the subdivisions marked by the Massorites almost with the same sign as the Samaritans; in both instances, as a rule, by two dots (:), in the Samaritan after, in the Massoretic over the word in question. The orthography and the actual form of the text itself has been proved to be in the Scroll much more akin to the Massoretic text than has been believed hitherto. Furthermore, overwhelming evidence has been adduced to show that the Book form is less reliable in its readings than the Scroll, and that the superiority of the latter is indisputable. It is the *sacred* text, against the profane! Only the Scroll can serve as a true basis for further investigations into the relation between the two recensions of the Hebrew text. The final result promises to be close agreement on all vital points, and a direct strengthening of the critical value of the Massoretic text and of its antiquity. For in order to be accepted by the Samaritans, it must be older than the secession of the latter from the Jews, otherwise it would not have been adopted in its actual state, and the differences would be much greater than they are even in the Book form. The re-opening of the inquiry imposes itself, and this alone amply justifies, if justification be needed, the publication of this portion of the Samaritan Scroll.

## LIST I.

## DEUTERONOMY, Chapter XXVII.

| Massoretic. | Samaritan Scroll. |       |
|-------------|-------------------|-------|
| שמר         | שמרֹ:             | 1     |
| תבא         | תבוא              | 3     |
| עיבל        | גריזים            | 4     |
| עֹלֹת       | עלֹת              | 6     |
| היטב        | היִטב             | 8     |
| נהיית       | נהייתה            | 9     |
| לעם . . .   | לעם [קדש]         |       |
| מצותו       | מצותיו            | 10    |
| חקיו        | חקתיו             |       |
| הר גריזים   | הרגריזים          | 12    |
| ויהודה      | יהודה             |       |
| ויוסף       | יוסף              |       |
| ובנימן      | ובנימים           |       |
| וזבולן      | זבלֹן             | 13    |
| ואמר כל העם | ואמרֹ כל העם      | 17-26 |
| נקי         | נקיֹא             | 25    |
| את דברי     | את [כל] דברי      |       |
| לעשות אותם  | לעשותם            | 26    |

## Chapter XXVIII.

|        |         |   |
|--------|---------|---|
| שמע    | שמע     | 1 |
| לעשות  | לעשות   |   |
| גוי    | גוי     |   |
| והשיגך | והשיגוך | 2 |
| הקמים  | הקאמים  | 7 |

## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|          |          |    |
|----------|----------|----|
| בדרך אחר | בדרך אחת |    |
| ובשבעה   | ובשבע    |    |
| יצו      | יצוה     | 8  |
| באסמך    | באסימך   |    |
| ידך      | יריך     |    |
| קדוש     | קדש      | 9  |
| ויראו    | ייראו    | 10 |
| לטובה    | לטוב     | 11 |

(Lacuna from v. 11-22.)

|           |           |    |
|-----------|-----------|----|
| אבדך      | אבידוך    | 22 |
| השמך      | השמידך    | 24 |
| אחד       | בדרך אחת  | 25 |
| לזעה      | לזועה     |    |
| ממלכות    | ממלכת     |    |
| [לכל]עוף  | לעוף      | 26 |
| [את] דרכך | דרכך      | 29 |
| אך עשוק   | רק עשוק   |    |
| ישגלנה    | ישכב עמה  | 30 |
| יגיעך     | יגעך      | 33 |
| יכנה      | יכך       | 35 |
| יולך      | יוליך     | 36 |
| לשמה למשל | לשם ולמשל | 37 |
| תוציא     | תוצא      | 38 |
| התלעת     | התולעת    | 39 |
| תסוך      | תסך       | 40 |
| יירש      | יוריש     | 42 |
| השמך      | השמידך    | 45 |
| ובעירם    | ובערום    | 48 |

| Massoretic.      | Samaritan Scroll. |    |
|------------------|-------------------|----|
| עַל              | עֹל               |    |
| יִדְאָה          | יִרְאָה           | 49 |
| הַשְּׁמִיד       | הַשְּׁמִיד        | 51 |
| תִּירוֹשׁ        | וְתִירוֹשׁ        |    |
| עֲשֵׂתֶרֶת       | וְעֲשֵׂתֶרֶת      |    |
| הָאֲבִירוֹ       | אֲבִירוֹ          |    |
| חֲמִיד           | חֲמִיד            | 52 |
| הַגְּבָהָת       | הַגְּבָהָת        |    |
| יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ | ...               | 53 |
| אִיבֶךְ          | אִיבֶךְ           |    |
| יִוְתָר          | יִוְתָר           | 54 |

(Lacuna from v. 54—ch. XXIX.)

# Chapter XXIX.

|               |               |    |
|---------------|---------------|----|
| הַגְּדִלָּת   | הַגְּדִלָּת   | 2  |
| הָאֵתָת       | הָאֵתָת       |    |
| וְאוֹלֶךְ     | וְאוֹלֶךְ     | 4  |
| שְׁלֵמֵיכֶם   | שְׁמֵלֵיכֶם   |    |
| וְנַעֲלֶכֶם   | וְנַעֲלֶיכֶם  |    |
| בְּלָתָה      | בְּלֹ         |    |
| רַגְלֶכֶם     | רַגְלֵיכֶם    |    |
| לְנַחֲלָה     | נַחֲלָה       | 7  |
| הַמְּנִשִּׁי  | הַמְּנִשָּׁה  |    |
| נִשְׁיֶכֶם    | וְנִשְׁיֶכֶם  | 10 |
| עַד           | וְעַד         |    |
| שְׁקָצִיָּהֶם | שְׁקָצִיָּהֶם | 16 |
| גְּלִיָּהֶם   | גְּלֹלִיָּהֶם |    |
| בְּשִׁרְרֹת   | בְּשִׁרְרֹת   | 18 |



## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|                 |                 |    |
|-----------------|-----------------|----|
| הרוּחַ          | הַרוּחַ         |    |
| סֶלַח           | לְסֶלַח         | 19 |
| יַעֲשֵׂן        | יַחַר           |    |
| וּרְבֵעָה       | וּרְבֵצוֹ       |    |
| אֱלֹת           | הָאֱלֹת         | 20 |
| יבֹא            | יבֹא            | 21 |
| הַהוּא          | הַהִיא          |    |
| וּרְאוּ         | וּרְאֵה         |    |
| חִלָּה          | חִלָּא          |    |
| תּוֹרַע         | תּוֹרִיעַ       | 22 |
| תַּצְמַח        | תַּצְמִיחַ      |    |
| וַעֲבִיִּים     | וַעֲבָאִים      |    |
| מִה חֲרִי       | וְמִה חֲרִי     | 23 |
| אֲבֹתָם         | אֲבֹתָם         | 24 |
| בְּהוֹצִיאוֹ    | בְּהוֹצִאוֹ     |    |
| הַהוּא          | הַהִיא          | 26 |
| הַנִּסְתַּרְתָּ | הַנִּסְתַּרְתָּ | 28 |
| וְהַנִּגְלָתָּ  | וְהַנִּגְלָתָּ  |    |

## Chapter XXX.

|            |           |   |
|------------|-----------|---|
| הַדִּיחַךְ | יְדִיחַךְ | 1 |
| בְּקָלוֹ   | בְּקָלוֹ  | 2 |

(Lacuna from v. 2-14.)

|                      |                    |    |
|----------------------|--------------------|----|
| מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי | חֻקֵּי וּמִצְוֹתַי | 16 |
| תֹּארִיכֹן           | תֹּארִיכֹן         | 18 |
| אֶתְּהָ עֵבֶר        | אֶתְּהָ עֵבֶרִים   |    |
| בְּקָלוֹ             | בְּקָלוֹ           | 20 |
| וּלְדַבְּקָה         | וּלְהַדְבִּיקָה    |    |

## Chapter XXXI.

Massoretic.

Samaritan Scroll.

|                         |                       |    |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----|
| אמר                     | הָאִמֵּר              | 2  |
| עבר                     | הָעֵבֶר               | 3  |
| הוא                     | וְהוּא                |    |
| יהושע                   | וַיִּהְיֶה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ |    |
| עבר                     | הָעֵבֶר               |    |
| תבוא                    | תִּבְיָא              | 7  |
| לאבתם                   | לֵאבֹתֶם              |    |
| אותם                    | אֲתֶם                 |    |
| הוא יהיה                | וְהוּא יִהְיֶה        | 8  |
| אותם                    | אֲתֶם                 | 10 |
| במעד                    | בְּמֹעֵד              |    |
| לראות                   | לְהִרְאוֹת            | 11 |
| יבחר                    | בַּחַר                |    |
| תקרא                    | יִקְרָא               |    |
| ויראו                   | וַיִּירְאוּ           | 12 |
| אתם חיים                | הֵם חַיִּים           | 13 |
| וירא                    | וַיִּרְאֶה            | 15 |
| (Lacuna from v. 16-25.) |                       |    |
| היתם                    | הֵייתֶם               | 27 |
| וקראת                   | וּקְרַתָּהּ           | 29 |

## Chapter XXXII.

|         |               |   |
|---------|---------------|---|
| פי      | פִּי          | 1 |
| תול     | וְתֹאזֹל      | 2 |
| כשעירם  | כְּשַׁעִירִים |   |
| עלי דשא | עַל־דִּשְׁא   |   |
| וכרבבים | וּכְרַבִּים   |   |
| שם      | בְּשֵׁם       | 3 |

## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|                     |                              |    |
|---------------------|------------------------------|----|
| הבו                 | וְהָבוּ                      |    |
| שחת לו לא בניו מומם | שחתו לא לו בני מום :         | 5  |
| ה ליהוה             | הַלִּיהוֹה                   | 6  |
| ויכנך               | וַיִּכְנֹךְ                  |    |
| זכר                 | זָכָר                        | 7  |
| ימות                | יּוֹמַת                      |    |
| שנות דר             | שֶׁנַּת דּוּר                |    |
| ויגרך               | וַיִּגְרֹךְ                  |    |
| בהנחל               | בַּהֲנַחֵל                   | 8  |
| גבלת                | גְּבוּלַת                    |    |
| נחלתו               | נַחֲלָתוֹ [יִשְׂרָאֵל]       | 9  |
| ימצאהו              | יֹאמְצֵהוּ                   | 10 |
| מדבר                | הַמִּדְבָּר                  |    |
| ובתהו ילל ישמן      | וּבַתְּהַלְלוֹת יִשְׁמְנֵהוּ |    |
| יבִנְנֵהוּ          | וַיִּבְנִנֵּהוּ              |    |
| יצרנהו              | וַיִּצְרְנֵהוּ               |    |
| כאישן               | כְּאִישָׁן                   |    |
| על גוזליו           | וְעַל גּוֹזְלָיו             | 11 |
| יקחהו               | וַיִּקְחֵהוּ                 |    |
| במותי ארץ           | בְּמַתִּי הָאָרֶץ            | 13 |
| ויאכל               | וַיֹּאכִלֵהוּ                |    |
| תנובת               | תְּנוּפֶת                    |    |
| וינקהו              | וַיִּנְקֵהוּ                 |    |
| חמאת                | חֲמַת                        | 14 |
| חלב כרים            | חֲמַת כְּרִים                |    |
| (Massor. omitted)   | יאכל יעקב וישבע              | 15 |
| וישמן               | וַיִּשְׁמֵן                  |    |
| אלה                 | אֱלֹהֵ                       |    |
| וינבל               | וַיִּנְבֹּלֶ                 |    |

## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|            |           |    |
|------------|-----------|----|
| ישעתו      | ישועתו    |    |
| יקנאהו     | יקנאהו    | 16 |
| בתועבת     | ובתועבת   |    |
| יבעסחו     | יבעסחו    |    |
| לא שערום   | ולא שערום | 17 |
| תשי        | תשא       | 18 |
| מחללך      | מהללך     |    |
| אסתירה     | אסתיר     | 20 |
| אראה       | ואראה     |    |
| תהפכת המה  | הפכות הם  |    |
| אמן        | האמן      |    |
| בהבליהם    | באבליהם   | 21 |
| ותיקד      | ותוקד     | 22 |
| שאול       | שאל       |    |
| ותאכל      | תאכל      |    |
| ותלהט      | תלהט      |    |
| עלימו      | עליהם     | 23 |
| חצי        | וחצי      |    |
| מוי        | מוה       | 24 |
| ולחמי      | לחמו      |    |
| וקטב מרירי | קטב מררים |    |
| בהמת       | בהמות     |    |
| יונק       | וינק      | 25 |
| אפאיהם     | אפיהם     | 26 |
| אשביתה     | אשבית     |    |
| לולי       | לו לא     | 27 |
| אויב       | איבי      |    |
| צריכו      | צרינו     |    |

## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|           |          |    |
|-----------|----------|----|
| עצות המה  | עצותם    | 28 |
| לו        | לא       | 29 |
| ישכילו    | וישכלו   |    |
| יבינו     | ויבינו   |    |
| איכה      | איך      | 30 |
| [כיוצורם] | ....     |    |
| פלילים    | פללים    | 31 |
| ומשדמת    | ומשדמות  | 32 |
| ענבמו     | ענביהם   |    |
| רוש       | ראש      |    |
| אשכלת     | ואשכלי   |    |
| מררת      | מררות    |    |
| תנינם     | תנינים   | 33 |
| אכזר      | אך זרי   |    |
| הלא       | הלוא     | 34 |
| כמס       | כנוס     |    |
| לי נקם    | ליום נקם | 35 |
| עתדת      | עתידת    |    |
| ואמר אי   | ואמר איה | 37 |
| ישתו      | וישתו    | 38 |
| נסים      | נסכם     |    |
| ויעזרכם   | ויעזרוכם |    |
| יהי       | יהיו     |    |
| ואני      | ואנכי    | 39 |
| שמים      | השמים    | 40 |

(Lacuna from v. 41-ch. XXXIII, v. 11.)

|             |          |    |
|-------------|----------|----|
| לבנימן      | ולבנימים | 12 |
| ידיד        | יד יד    |    |
| לבטח [עדיו] | לבטח     |    |

## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|               |             |    |
|---------------|-------------|----|
| חֲפֶּף        | וְחֹפֶף     |    |
| כַּתְּפִיו    | כַּתְּפִיו  |    |
| גֶּרֶשׁ       | גֶּרֶשִׁי   | 14 |
| הַרְרִי       | הַרִי       | 15 |
| גִּבְעוֹת     | גִּבְעַת    |    |
| וּמְלֹאָה     | וּמְלֹאָה   | 16 |
| שִׁכְנִי      | שִׁכֵּן     |    |
| שׁוּרֹ        | שׁוּר       | 17 |
| רֹאם          | רֹאמִי      |    |
| וְהֵם רַבּוֹת | הֵם רַבּוֹת |    |
| הַר           | הַרִי       | 19 |
| שֵׁם          | וְשֵׁם      |    |
| יִינְקֹ       | יִינֵק      |    |
| וּשְׁפִנִי    | וּשְׁפֹנִי  |    |
| כִּלְבִּיא    | כִּלְבִּיהַ | 20 |
| וְטֹרַף       | טֹרֹף       |    |
| אֶף           | גַּם        |    |
| מַחֲקֵק       | מַחֲקֵק     | 21 |
| עַם           | הָעַם       |    |
| יִזְנֵק       | וְיִזְנֵק   | 22 |
| רִצּוֹן       | וְרִצּוֹן   | 23 |
| יָם           | יִמָּה      |    |
| יִרְשֶׁה      | יִירֶשׁ     |    |
| יְהִי         | וְיִהִי     | 24 |
| רִגְלוֹ       | רִגְלֹו     |    |
| מִנְעֵלָךְ    | מִנְעֵלִיד  | 25 |
| דְּבֹאךְ      | רְבִיד      |    |
| וּבְגָאוֹתוֹ  | וּבְגָאָתוֹ | 26 |



## Massoretic.

## Samaritan Scroll.

|         |            |    |
|---------|------------|----|
| מענה    | מעֹנָה     | 27 |
| זרעת    | זרֹעֹת     |    |
| השמד    | השמִיד     |    |
| אל ארץ  | על ארץ     | 28 |
| ותירש   | ותירש      |    |
| אף שמיו | וֹאף שמיִד |    |
| אשרִיד  | אשרִד      | 29 |
| עם נושע | עם ה־נושע  |    |
| גאוֹתך  | גאתך       |    |
| במותימו | במתם       |    |

## Chapter XXXIV.

|                           |                                                              |    |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| נבו                       | נבא                                                          | I  |
| ירחו                      | ירִיחו                                                       |    |
| ויראהו                    | וירִי־אהו                                                    |    |
| (Mass. omits.)            | [הארץ מנהר מצרים עד<br>הנהר הגדול נהר פרת<br>ועד הים האחרון] |    |
| (Mass. omitted ל') נשבעתי | נשבעתי [לאבתיך]                                              | 4  |
| הראִיתִךְ                 | הראתיך                                                       |    |
| בגי                       | בגיֹא                                                        | 6  |
| במתו                      | במוֹתו                                                       | 7  |
| כהתה                      | כח־תה                                                        |    |
| ידיו                      | ידו                                                          | 9  |
| נביא עוד                  | עוד נביא                                                     | 10 |
| האתה                      | האתֹת                                                        | 11 |
| המורא                     | המראֶה                                                       | 12 |

## LIST II.

| Samar. Book.               | Sam. Scroll. | Massoretic. |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| בשבע                       | בשבעה        | xxviii, 25  |
| ובהרס                      | ובחרס        | 27          |
| ופרי                       | פרי          | 33          |
| תגאר                       | תאגר         | 39          |
| ישלֹ                       | ישל          | 40          |
| יעוקֹ                      | יעיק         | 53          |
| הכתובים                    | הכתובה       | xxix, 20    |
| והנגלאו' (Mass. גלת . . .) | והנגלאות     | 28          |
| וללכת                      | ללכת         | xxx, 16     |
| לאלהינה                    | לאלהינו      | xxxii, 3    |
| יער                        | יעיר         | 11          |
| עמר                        | חמר          | 15          |
| זהלי                       | זחלי         | 24          |
| ומהדרים                    | ומחדרים      | 25          |
| עצותיהם (Mass. המה)        | עצותם        | 28          |
| ולא חכמו (Mass. לו)        | לא חכמו      | 29          |
| באוצרותי                   | באוצרתי      | 34          |

## LIST III.

| Scroll.                   | Book. Massoretic. |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| יכך                       | יבכה xxviii, 35   |
| יולִיךְ                   | יולך 36           |
| יותר                      | יותיר 54          |
| ואולִיךְ                  | ואולך xxix, 4     |
| גלֹליהם                   | גלליהם 16         |
| בשריות                    | בשריות 18         |
| (Mass. הרוח) הרוח         | הרוחה             |
| האלות                     | אלות 20           |
| אבותם                     | אבתם 24           |
| ולִהֲדַבֵּקָה             | ולדבקה xxx, 20    |
| לאבותם                    | לאבתם xxxi, 7     |
| וְהוּא יִהְיֶה            | הוא יהיה 8        |
| עלִידשא                   | עלי דשא xxxii, 2  |
| וכרבבים                   | וכרביבים          |
| יבַעֲסֵהוּ                | יבַעֲסֵהוּ 16     |
| וְלֹא                     | לא שֶׁרוֹם 17     |
| (Mass. שֶׁאוֹל) שֶׁאוֹל   | שֶׁאוֹל 22        |
| (Mass. עֲתִידָת) עֲתִידָת | עֲתִידָת 35       |
| יד יד                     | ידיד xxxiii, 11   |
| וירִאָהוּ                 | ויראהו xxxiv, 1   |
| (Mass. הַאֲתוֹת) הַאֲתוֹת | הַאֲתוֹת 11       |

## ANOTHER CARVED SLATE.

By F. LEGGE.

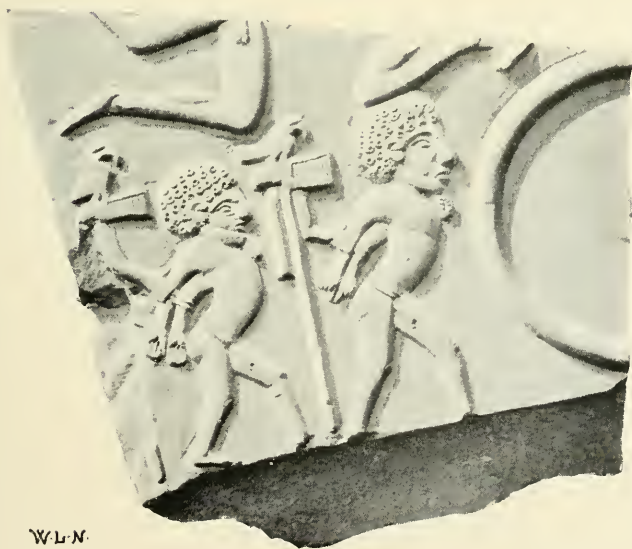
Thanks to the kindness of the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum, I am now able to give what appears at first sight to be a new slate, but which turns out on inspection to be one of the missing fragments of the slate in the British Museum, which in my paper in the May *Proceedings* figures as Plate VI. The present fragment was obtained, as I understand, from Mr. Greville Chester, as was that in the British Museum. For the reasons referred to in my former paper, I have no doubt that both came from Abydos. The Ashmolean fragment is about five inches in its greatest width, while the height varies from four inches to three. On the obverse, the principal figures are two captives with their arms bound behind them at the elbows. Like those in Plate VI above referred to, they are naked save for the Bantu sheath and a small cincture round the hips. Behind each of them is a standard surmounted by a bird with a parrot-shaped beak, which is probably intended for a hawk. From each standard springs a human arm, which grasps the captive by his right arm as if to push him into the ring or circular depression, which is here very clearly marked, and which I have suggested typifies the sun. Above the standards can be seen the legs of two other captives or fugitives of the same race. The scene no doubt symbolizes the capture of savage enemies of Bantu affinities by the inhabitants of the country symbolized by the standards (the Nome of the Two Hawks?), and their casting out, perhaps after execution by the personage in the long robe on Plate VI, to be devoured under the eye of the sun by birds and beasts.

The reverse bears the head of the date-palm together with the upper part of one of the giraffes on Plate VI, while behind the giraffe is an extraordinary bird with the body of a goose or duck, and with what appear to be feathered legs. The head of the bird has the beak of a bird of prey, while over the opening of the ear is what seems to be a fleshy caruncle or wattle, while the head is further garnished with two small protuberances resembling horns. What bird is supposed to be here represented I can make no guess, but will only mention that by comparison with the figures of the captives it appears to be over five feet in height.

As to the use of these slates, I see that Prof. Petrie has again referred to the subject in the memoir on Hierakonpolis just pub-



W.L.N.



W.L.N.

SLATE SLAB, NOW IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD.









STELA OF RESHEP AT ABERDEEN.

lished by the Egyptian Research Account. It may therefore be as well to say that I am as unconvinced as ever that the rings on these slates had any connection with the grinding or use of face-paint. Although I have every respect for Prof. Petrie's opinion, it seems to me that in order to prove such a connection he should show first that some known slate palette, showing traces of having been used for the grinding of malachite, was decorated with such a ring as we have here, and then, that the painting of the king's face ever formed part of an Egyptian ceremonial.

## THE ABERDEEN RESHEP STELA.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

Miss A. A. Pirie, who has been engaged in arranging the collection of Egyptian antiquities bequeathed by the late Dr. J. H. S. Grant-Bey to Aberdeen University, has kindly supplied the accompanying photograph—supplemented by her own careful hand copy—of an interesting stela in that collection on which is sculptured a scene of offering to the Syrian god of thunder, Reshep, together with his name and another short legend.

This is the stela on which Professor Spiegelberg lately contributed a note to the *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie* (1898, 120), where he discusses at length the remarkable title **רשף שלמן**, given to the god,\*

The second legend Dr. Spiegelberg reads as a curse,  

    : "Prepare misfortune (?) for the house of Aahmes."

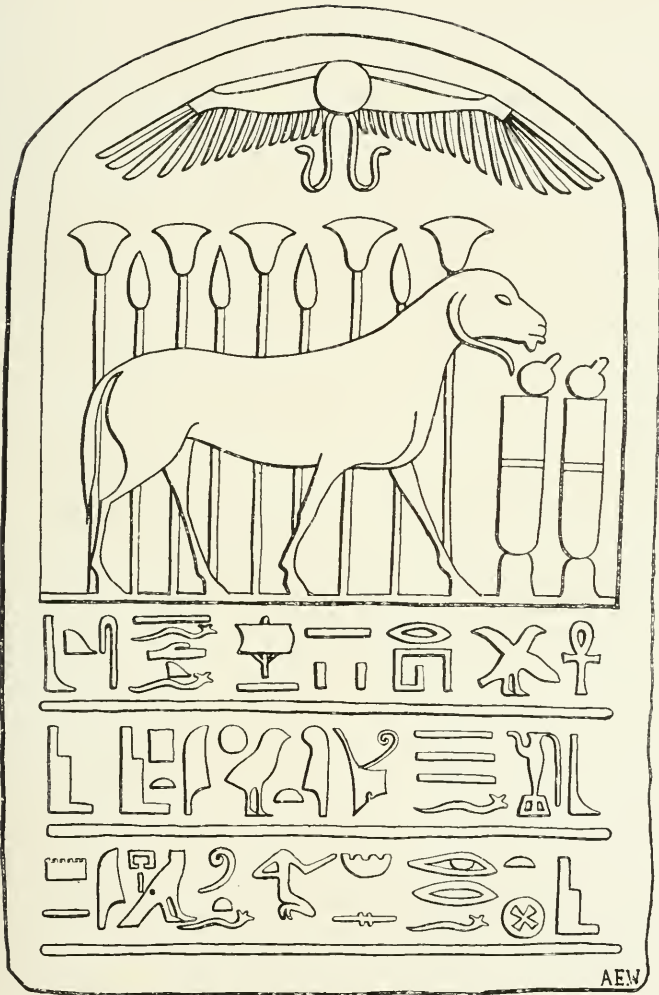
His reading appears to me somewhat doubtful: The first signs would rather seem to be  , etc. The engraving is not clear and the surface of the stela is worn, but the photograph, which is taken by Professor Pirie of Aberdeen, is singularly successful.

Reshep holds battle-axe and shield; he is crowned with the conical crown of Upper Egypt, and behind him is a sun-shade. The offerings on the table seem to be of the usual kinds; those held in

\* For the god Reshep see W. Max Müller's *Asien und Europa*, p. 311, *et seqq.*



PLATE I.



FUNERAL TABLET FROM THEBES, XVIIIITH DYNASTY, NOW IN THE  
BRIGHTON PUBLIC MUSEUM.





PLATE II.



FUNERAL TABLET, XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, NOW IN THE BRIGHTON  
PUBLIC MUSEUM.



Figure 2 is a limestone tablet of the XIIth dynasty, measuring about 20 inches by 14. This also was presented by Mr. J. Ashbury. It is of  Min-hetep, the  ur res met, "great one of the Southern Tens," and his wife  Nebt-Seta.

They are represented facing a heap of offerings, and above them is the following inscription :



Half of the second line refers to his wife, and reads thus :



ARTHUR E. WEIGALL.

## PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION AT GREENOCK.

WESTMINSTER,

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

23rd June, 1900.

Mr. Greenlees' reading of this inscription does not seem quite correct as far as two of the names are concerned. The text has Metib-Baal, not Mattan-Baal; and the last name is plainly Ger-Ashtoreth, not Gad-Ashtoreth.

Transliterated into Hebrew characters, the inscription is as follows :—

|                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולאדן ל | Line 1. |
| בעל חמן אש נדר           | „ 2.    |
| מתבבעל בת עבדמלקר        | „ 3.    |
| ת [בן] גרעשתרת           | „ 4.    |

It will be observed that the second line has a blank space after it. The name of the devotee does not follow immediately after נדר, "vowed," as is usually the case; but begins the third line. It is probable that these little slabs were kept in stock, ready engraved with the dedicatory formula, and only requiring the addition of the name of the purchaser. This is shown still more clearly by *C.I.S.*, No. 191, where the stereotyped formula in Punic, is immediately followed by the name of the devotee ΕΥΚΛΕΑ in *Greek* letters.

The first name in the Greenock Inscription is מתבעל. It is, of course, possible that this is the common Punic name מתבעל *Mattanbaal*, with *Beth* written in mistake for *Nun*. But, on the other hand, it strongly recalls the Biblical *Mehetab-el* in Genesis xxvi, 39, with the interchange of *Tau* for *Teth*; and would thus be *Metib-Baal*, "benefited by Baal."

The last line contains the very common Phœnician proper name *Ger-Ashtoreth*, "sojourner with Ashtoreth," or "dependant of Ashtoreth." *Ger* is derived from גור, "to sojourn"; which is often used in the sense of dwelling with the deity, or being in companionship with deity. Thus Psalm xv says, that those who act righteously shall "sojourn" in the tabernacle of Yahveh; while Psalm v, 4 (verse 5 in the Hebrew), says, "the evil man shall not 'sojourn' with thee"; i.e., with God. *Ger* is frequently compounded with divine names, such as *Ger-Eshmun*, *Ger-Melek*, *Ger-Melqarth*, *Ger-Miskar*, *Ger-Sad*, and *Ger-Sakon*. *Ger-Ashtoreth* occurs in Josephus *contra Apion*. I, 21, under the form Γερόστρατος; and a king of Aradus, of the same name, is also mentioned by Arrian.

The Greenock inscription would thus be dedicated by "Metib-Baal, daughter of Ebed-Melqarth, son of Ger-Ashtoreth." Ebed-Melqarth, son of Ger-Ashtoreth, also occurs in *C.I.S.*, No. 234; a votive tablet deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris.

Yours very truly,

E. J. PILCHER.

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#### EGYPTIAN SCARABS.

The Council is indebted to Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., for placing at their disposal the Plates of Photographs of Scarabs in his collection. Four of these plates are now given, and the descriptive text and the remainder of the plates will appear in successive parts of the *Proceedings*.

W. H. RYLANDS.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 13th November, 1900, at 4.30 p.m.





Scarabs of Kings and Notables

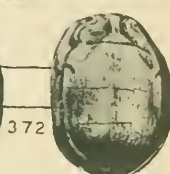
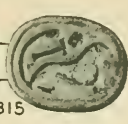


XVIII Dynasty

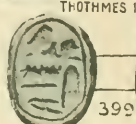
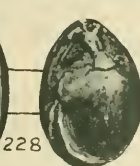
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AAHMES I

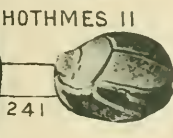
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AMEN MERT



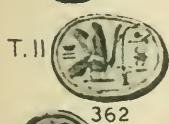
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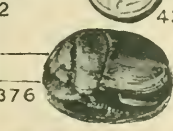
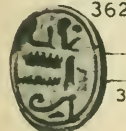
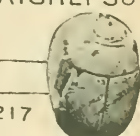
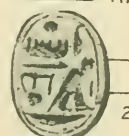
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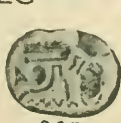
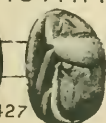
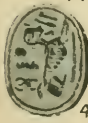


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III



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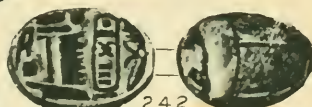
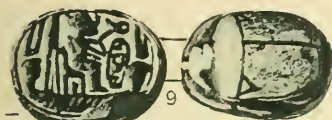
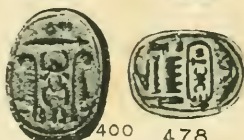
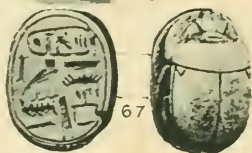
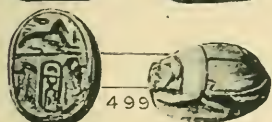
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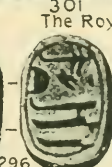
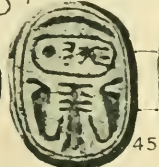
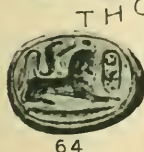
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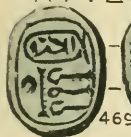


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AMENHOTEP III

The Royal Wife TYI



AMENHOTEP III





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*Sixth Meeting, November 13th, 1900.*

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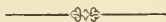
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THIRTIETH SESSION, 1900.

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*Sixth Meeting, 13th November, 1900.*

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., PRESIDENT,  
IN THE CHAIR.



The President referred to the great loss the Society had suffered by the death of the MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., etc., etc., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. Born 12th September, 1847, died 9th October, 1900.



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From Dr. Weisbach :—Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nebukadnezar's. Von Dr. Friedrich Jeremias. Leipzig. 8vo. 1891.

From the Rev. C. A. de Cara :—Della stela del Foro, della sua Iscrizione Arcaica. *Civiltà Cattolica*. July, August, and September.

From the Author :—Dr. Oscar von Lemm. Kleine Koptische Studien, X-XX. St. Petersburg. 1900.

Extract, *Acad. Imp. des Sciences*.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting in December :—

Dr. W. Spiegelberg, 22, Vogesenstrasse, Strasburg.

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To be added to the list of Subscribers :—

The Free Public Library, Belfast.

The Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge,  
Belfast.

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The following Papers were read :—

PROF. SAYCE (*President*): (I.) Objects from the Tomb of a præ-dynastic Egyptian King. (II.) Some early Egyptian Cylinders. Remarks were added by Mr. W. H. Brown.

I. DR. GASTER: "The Wisdom of the Chaldeans," an ancient Hebrew Astrological MS., which will appear in the December *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Mr. G. A. Simcox, Dr. Friedlander, Mr. John Tuckwell, Dr. Gaster and the Chairman.

II. JOSEPH OFFORD: "Report on the Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions." Paris. 1900.

Remarks were added by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches and the Chairman.

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(I) OBJECTS FROM THE TOMB OF A PRÆ-DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN KING; (II) SOME EARLY EGYPTIAN SEAL-CYLINDERS.

Last winter I purchased the contents—or rather what the Luxor dealers had left of the contents—of a tomb which had been found by a couple of fellahin at Tûkh, a little to the north of the tomb of Menes at Negada, and near the prehistoric cemetery excavated by Prof. Petrie and Mr. Quibell. The contents include the characteristic polished red and black ware which survived into the epoch of the First Dynasty. One of the vases is  $51\frac{1}{2}$  cent. high, with a circumference of 68 cent. at the rim and 39 cent. at the foot, and inside it there has been incised, while the clay was still soft, two trees or plants, running the whole length of the vase and facing one another, one of which was pronounced by Dr. Schweinfurth to represent a palm. On the exterior of another vase of the same ware a strange-looking animal, which may be intended for a lion, has been scratched. Along with the red and black ware was found a globular vase of coarse grey pottery covered with holes, as well as alabaster vases and a red and black bowl. Among the smaller objects are a fossil sea-urchin, on the underpart of which “prehistoric” animals and other signs have been drawn, a small alabaster vase, which has never been hollowed out, slate plaques or “palettes,” one of tiny size, while another is of this shape : , a small plaque of marble with a curious nick in one of its sides, and a “prehistoric” animal’s head, similar to two I have procured at El-Kab, but of considerable size and adorned on the back with the figure of a man and an unknown character. The most important objects, however, are (1) a number of small plaques of ivory and slate which have been used for inlaying a box, (2) the head-dress of a human or divine figure, and (3) part of one of the shells which are frequently met with in the “prehistoric” graves of Egypt. The head-dress is of black stone with a perforation for attaching it to the head of a figure; at the back it is inlaid with an arc of ivory, under which lines are drawn to represent hair. On the front is an inscription, exceedingly well engraved, which is given as No. 1 in the plate. The greater part of the same inscription is



1



2

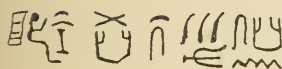


3



4

OBJECTS FROM TOMB.



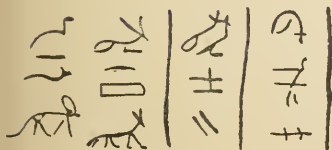
1



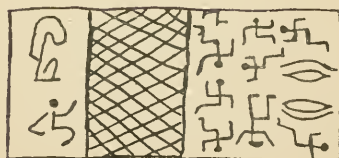
2



3



4



5

EARLY EGYPTIAN SEAL CYLINDERS.



repeated on the shell (No. 2 in the plate) where, however, the mace and hawk are more rudely drawn. The king, whose cartouche is thus twice repeated, is new to Egyptian history, as likewise are his titles: "the Horus-hawk" and "the mace." He is not yet even "King of Upper Egypt." But the cartouche itself, of which this is the earliest example, in no way differs in form from that of later times, and so throws no light on the origin of the hieroglyph. Underneath the hawk the character intended must be the diadem *khâ* and not the cake *t*; to the left of the mace—which, it must be observed, has the "prehistoric" shape—we have the uræus. The diadem and uræus are omitted on the shell. How the name of King S was pronounced it is impossible to say.

No. 3 in the plate represents a small calf's head of brown stone, also found in the tomb of S, on which is a character that is rather early Babylonian than Egyptian. It resembles, in fact, the early Babylonian form of *dim* "to make." No. 4 is a plaque of ivory, on which again is a character which reminds us of the cuneiform syllabary. But the human figure with the tail of the leopard's skin floating out behind it is that of the primitive Egyptian "palettes" of which copies are given in the last No. of the *Proceedings* (see Plates I and II.)

I have added some early Egyptian seal-cylinders to these relics of King Menes' predecessor. Nos. 1 and 2 are two which were obtained respectively by myself and Mr. Somers Clarke at El-Kab last winter. They both came from the same place, the south-western corner of the old city, where a portion of the town was built over a "prehistoric" cemetery. I had already obtained a fine alabaster bowl from the same locality. My cylinder (No. 1) is of black stone, 2 cent. in length, and also in diameter. The hole is small. The inscription is important as it shows that I was partially right in the suggestion I made in my paper on "the Beginnings of the Egyptian Monarchy" in the P.S.B.A. xx, 2. The characters enclosed between the  $\Pi\Pi$  (or  $\cap\cap$ ) do indeed represent proper names, though not necessarily royal names. The double  $\Pi$  consequently takes the place of the determinative of "man," but not of the cartouche. This is proved by my El-Kab cylinder, which plainly reads: "The double of Tadet" or "Dtat." On Mr. Somers Clarke's cylinder there is only one  $\Pi$  or  $\cap$ ; can it represent *sa* "man"? This cylinder is also of black stone, and resembles mine



in shape and size, though the hole is larger. I read the inscription upon it: *hon Neferi-un-n-n* "the servant of Neferi-unen," a name with which it is tempting to compare that of Un-nofer or Osiris "the good being." It will be noticed that in each case the *ka* of the dead (?) man is seated with a table of offerings (or rather sacrificial cakes) before him.

Cylinder No. 3 was bought last winter at Medînet el-Fâyyûm by H. S. Cowper, Esq., of Yew Field, Castle, Hawkshead, who has kindly allowed me to publish it. It is very interesting as it reads *she n Ata* D.A., "the lake-nome of Ata." Ata was the great-grandson of Menes, and the cylinder is evidence that it was he to whom the creation of the province of the Fâyyûm was originally due. The proportions of the cylinder are the same as those of No. 1, and the perforation is small.

No. 4 is a large cylinder of white stone of the archaic Babylonian type which I bought at Elephantinê some years ago. It is nearly 4 cent. long and is 2 cent. in diameter. Two small holes have been bored from either end, but without meeting; perhaps the owner died before the work was finished. At all events the fact shows that the cylinder is of local manufacture in spite of its Babylonian appearance. The hieroglyphics are rudely cut and read: "Nekheb-khen(?)s, the governor of the two lands,"—a title not met with elsewhere. Then we have the name and picture of a dog *unsh(u)* and of another animal, perhaps the ichneumon, called *zenef*.

The last cylinder (No. 5) was bought by me last winter at Luxor. It had been found in a "prehistoric" grave at Negada. It is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cent. long and 2 cent. in diameter, and is of a soft grey stone with a small hole. The hieroglyphs are carefully engraved, and the human figures may possibly suggest what was the origin of the *swastika*, at any rate in the Levant.

I have some other seal-cylinders of the archaic Egyptian period, which I hope to publish hereafter, as well as a copy of one which I found this summer in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh.

A. H. SAYCE.



17th October, 1900.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

As the Delegate of the "Society of Biblical Archæology," who had the pleasure of being present at the "Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions," I have the honour of furnishing the following summary of the proceedings at the Congress, notice only being taken of those papers and discussions connected with subjects appertaining to Biblical Archæology.

The inaugural meeting was held in the Exhibition Hall, specially constructed for the holding of congresses, and a numerous company assembled to arrange the business procedure, and listen to an address from M. Albert Réville. The actual sectional work commenced upon the afternoon of the same day, and continued throughout the week, only interrupted by a reception at the Musée Guimet, and by the hospitable garden fête given by the revered President, M. Albert Réville, at his beautiful suburban villa at Auteuil.

In Sections 1 and 7, whose members united, a work of immense labour and erudition was presented by M. de Zmigrodski, who exhibited a chart, or tableau, many yards long, upon which, in about 1,500 drawings, he had delineated all known examples of the Swastika, pre-Christian crosses, solar wheels, &c. This formed the basis for a thesis endeavouring to prove a universal primitive monotheistic faith, anterior to the animistic and polytheistic cults of the earliest historical records.

In the same sections, at the final meeting, M. Stanislas Prato read a paper comparing the worship of Ptah, whom he considered the fire god of Egypt, with that of Hephaistos and Vulcan.

In the commingled Sections 3, 4, and 5, which were devoted to Semitic and Egyptian religions, our esteemed Member of Council, Professor E. Naville, was President. Here an important paper, accompanied by numerous illustrations, was read by M. Capart, entitled, "La fête de frapper les Anou." Having first presented and commented upon all the Hieraconopolitan slate palettes and other similar relics connected with the subject, he proceeded to present the results of an exhaustive search for all published texts concerned

with this archaic festival, unearthing them from many depositories, such as the "Denkmäler," and tracing the variants, or portions of the texts, down through many dynasties. He also discussed the origin and racial affinities of the Anou and the *provenance* of the early Egyptians. His essay, when published in the "Acts of the Congress," will mark a fresh advance in our knowledge of the primitive Egyptian epoch.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches also read a valuable paper upon "Babylonian Religion in 2000 B.C."

It was an examination of the many interesting names upon tablets, mostly trade documents of the period of the dynasty of Hammurabi, or Amraphel. He selected these documents rather than bilingual lists, or incantations, because of the difficulty of deciding how much of the information derived from the latter really appertained to the period, and to the people as distinct from the priestly class, who naturally possessed opinions of their own. By adopting this method, the relative popularity, in the province of Sippara, of the various gods could, to a certain extent, be ascertained, and the names of many rare divinities, not found elsewhere, tabulated.

A parallel to the deification of trees (for many sacred trees are regarded as divinities in the inscriptions) occurs in certain of the names which reveal the great cities of Babylonia : Sippar, Babylon, and Opis and the rivers of the country : the Tigris and the Arahtu, as divinities.

Comparing some of the names, indicated that even at that early date a belief existed that the various Babylonian gods were to be regarded as emanations of different aspects of one great divinity who was chief of the Babylonian pantheon. All the deities, according to a tablet already published, are forms of the god Merodach, and in all probability another of the tablets inscribed with a number of the names of the god Ea, and identifying him with his daughter Nin-aha-Kudu, bears witness to a still earlier belief that all the deities then worshipped were manifestations of Ea, "father of the gods," including Merodach, later chief of the pantheon. Mr. Pinches said it might be a half formed theory, but it appears the commencement of Monotheism, and is of extreme importance for the history of religion. He referred to the Babylonian idea of a future life, these texts appearing to show it was their writers' desire at death to go and dwell with his deity in the place the god chose, in the realm of the gods his brothers. That "the son of his god,"

*i.e.*, the pious man, should be taken to abide with the deity he had served so well.

Mr. Maurice Vernes founded, upon certain Biblical texts, the theory that at one period various Canaanite sanctuaries were used both by the Jews and the idolatrous Canaanites as places of worship of Jahveh and other deities. In some remarks following a paper by M. Schmidt of Cornell, upon "Arabic Religious Evolution before Mahomet," M. H. Derenbourg spoke upon the existence of the deity named Sidk. Another paper from across the Atlantic was by Professor Price upon the "Pantheon of Gudea."

The writer presented a note upon the "Apollo Alasiotas" of a Cypriote inscription and "Apollo Reseph"; suggesting that now the Golenischef Papyrus proves Alasia to have been in Syria, the Apollo Alasiotas was probably a Cypriote title for the Syrian Apollo, as undoubtedly the Cypriote expression "Apollo Reseph" was, and that these terms referred to the same deity. The identity of this god with Shalman, the Sharmana of the Hittites, and Reseph of Egyptian texts, was suggested by the Aberdeen stele, and the Semitic origin of Apollo, the Aplu of the earliest Greek inscriptions, from Aplu, "son of heaven," the title of Tammuz, was proposed.

M. P. Berger explained the "Illustrations of the Israelite conquest of Palestine afforded by the Tel el-Amarna Tablets," indicating how the path for a facile victory for the invaders had been prepared by previous wars and internal dissensions.

In the Greek and Roman sections M. Hartwig Derenbourg, now "Member of the Institut," read a note entitled, "Taurobole and Criobole," showing that the termination "bol" was not derived from Greek *βαλλω*, but from Semitic Bel or Baal; and that the words therefore meant Bull of Baal or Ram of Baal. In proof of this he cited an Arabian inscription of one "Schour Baalam" or "Bull of Baal." A paper by Mr. Conybeare, of Oxford, upon "Animal Sacrifices in some Christian Churches," gave rise to a long discussion, and was highly valued by the Christianity section, where it was read. Rabbi Klein, of Stockholm, gave an interesting essay upon the "Influence of the Essenes upon Christianity," though some of his conclusions as to the Essenes derived from words in the fourth Gospel were disputed.

In this section the ever recurring question as to the Jewish conceptions as to the resurrection and a future life came up, affording the veteran Dr. Oppert an opportunity to again deny its

existence as an early Jewish concept. M. Halévy was not present to advocate the opposite opinion.

M. Jean Réville gave a summary of his work upon the Evidences "as to the organisation of the Christian community in A.D. 125 to 140, derivable from the Pastor of Hermas," specially noting the absence of any superior Roman Episcopate.

As indicating the chronological scope of the Congress, which, as stated, discussed the prehistoric Swastika symbol, this section listened to an address by Abbé Denis upon "The Influence of Kant and Hegel upon the Historical Criticism of the Origin of Christianity." At the Exhibition, to which all Congress members had free access, in an upper gallery, were magnificent specimens, or replicas, of the chief monuments, both artistic and literary, obtained by M. de Sarzec at Tellah; also the chief spoils in sculpture and bronze of the Delphi expedition; the lovely Antinous, the unequalled bronze Syracusan charioteer; and casts of many of the bas-reliefs from the Delphic Treasuries. Casts of some Punic African inscriptions were also shown, and many hundreds of photographs of all MM. Delattre's, Toutain's, and Gauckler's, and other savants' researches in Africa and Asia.

The most interesting item of the Mesopotamian collection at the Exposition is a restoration of the Tellah "Vulture stele" by M. Heuzey. The work has been executed by means of casts of the various fragments in France, assisted by one of a small piece presented to M. Heuzey for the purpose by the British Museum, which restores to its place the right foot of the great figure of a divinity who holds a number of captives in a sort of cage or net.

The re-arrangement of this piece upon the opposite side of the relief completes a curious scene depicting a funerary ceremony after a battle. Alongside of a pyramid of corpses are a number of sacrificed animals, and a nude personage is perched on the summit pouring out a libation. This is directed not upon the bodies of the slain, or the animals, but upon bouquets of palm branches, with their flowers at the time of bloom suitable for fecundation. These are placed in two large vases adjacent to a bull, who is the principal sacrificial victim. The various registers or panels into which the tableaux upon the stele were divided are now correctly delimited, and if any further fragments come to light, they can promptly be placed in their proper positions.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has this year acquired a manuscript

containing a considerable part of St. Matthew's Gospel, which, because of its antiquity and paleographical character, is likely to take a very important position among New Testament codices. The text is inscribed in exquisite golden uncials upon purple parchment, and some of the pages are illuminated by beautiful miniatures depicting scenes in the life of our Lord. At the sides of these, as in the Rossano Codex, are portraits of the prophets, bearing scrolls representing their Messianic prophetic books.

The finest previously known purple codex, the Rossano, is inscribed in silver letters, and this purple and golden codex is, I believe, unique. It was obtained from Asia Minor, and is ascribed by M. Omont to the time of Justinian.

Results of M. Dieulafoy's excavations at Susa are apparent in many parts of the Exhibition, fountains, staircases of massive enamelled bricks (copied from the Persian archer, and lion friezes) being common, also pictorial representations of modern scenes depicted in a similar architectural manner. The utilisation of massed surfaces of enamelled bricks as a form of architectural ornament has been artistically achieved by the French, and thus the researches of an archæologist have impressed a new conception upon the culture of our time.

M. de Mély is editing for the French Academy a new manuscript of Harpocraton, which gives a description of the Birs Nimrud or Tower of Babel in the IVth century A.D. It then still retained its seven stories, and a full account of its appearance and dimensions is preserved in this new text.

JOSEPH OFFORD, M.J.S.





## QUELQUES LETTRES ASSYRIENNES

*Essai d'interprétation*

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

Le texte des pièces sur lesquelles nous nous exerçons se trouve dans R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*.—Quand les pièces traduites sont en écriture babylonienne, nous notons cette particularité.

## I.

K. 1619b.—Harper, 308

ŠIRUA-ITIRAT A AŠŠUR-ŠARRAT

Une femme du nom d'Aššur-šarrat a blessé par ses prétentions Širua-ítirat, fille ou sœur d'Aššur-ítíl-ilani, dernier roi de Ninive. La princesse la remet en son rang et lui envoie l'expression de ses cruels dédains.

## RECTO

1. *A-bit marat šarri a-na*
2. (f.) *Aššur-šarrat*
3. *a-ta-a duḫ-pi-ki la ta-šaṭ-ṭi-ri*
4. *im-bu-ki la ta-ḫab-bi-i*
5. *u-la-a i-ḫab-bi-u*
6. *ma-a an-ni-tu-u aḫat-sa*

## VERSO

7. *ša (f.) Širua-i-ṭi-rat*
8. *martu rabi-tú ša bit ridú (pl.)-ti*
9. *ša (h.) Aššur-ítíl-iláni ukin-in-ni*
10. *šarru rabu šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mat Aššur*
11. *ú at-ti ma-rat gal-lat bilit bit ša (h.) Aššur-bani-apal*
12. *mar šarru rabu ša bit ridú (pl.)-ti*
13. *ša Aššur-aḫ-iddin šar mat Aššur*



(1) Avis de la fille du roi (2) à Aššur-šarrat. (3) Tu n'éciras plus ta tablette, (4) tu ne diras plus ton mot, (5) de peur qu'on ne dise : celle-ci est la sœur de Širua-ítirat, (8) la grande fille du *bit-ridûti*, (9) qu'a établie Aššur-ít-ilani, (10) le grand roi, le roi puissant, le roi de la multitude, le roi du pays d'Aššur, (11) et toi tu es la fille de l'esclave de la dame du palais d'Aššur-bani-pal, (12) le grand fils-du-roi du *bit-ridûti* d'Aššur-aḥ-iddin, roi du pays d'Aššur.

## NOTES

Ll. 1, 2.—Aššur-šarrat, dans sa correspondance et dans ses discours, se donnait un titre qui l'égalait à une princesse royale. Cela ressort des lignes 5-10. Elle reçoit défense d'en user ainsi à l'avenir.

*Imbu*, pour *inbu*. Ce titre était le titre qu'elle se donnait et qu'on lui refusait.

L. 7.—Une sœur d'Assurbanipal (K. 501; Harper, 113, verso, l. 8) s'appelle Širua-ítirat. Malgré le š au lieu du s, elle est peut-être la même que l'auteur de notre lettre. Celle-ci en effet ne dit pas qu'elle est fille d'Aššur-ít-ilani, fils d'Assurbanipal, mais qu'elle est la *grande fille*, c'est-à-dire, la première en rang des princesses de la maison d'Aš.ít-il, qui l'a constituée telle (l. 9). Voir la note, l. 12.

Line 8.—*Ridûti* signifie *gouvernement*, comme *ridû* signifie *gouverner* (Asarhaddon, inscriptions des prismes A et C, col. II, l. 41; Brok. Cyl., col. II, 24). Le *bit-ridûti* n'est pas le harem. C'est dans le *bit-ridûti* que naissaient les enfants royaux; c'est là qu'ils étaient élevés, qu'ils recevaient leur éducation littéraire, qu'ils apprenaient à tirer de l'arc et à conduire les chevaux; mais c'est de là aussi que le roi gouvernait; c'est là qu'il tenait des assemblées solennelles des grands de son empire, et que, dans les cas douteux, il désignait son successeur et lui faisait prêter hommage par ses principaux sujets.

Tout cela est dit au long par Assurbanipal dans le Prisme Rassam (cf. Jensen, dans la *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, T. II, pp. 152-157).

Le *bit-ridûti* était la partie du palais spécialement réservée à la famille royale; l'expression signifie le *quartier princier*. Que les simples femmes de harem fussent logées là, rien ne le prouve. Le harem devait être contigu au *bit-ridûti*; il n'est pas nécessairement compris sous cette dénomination. Il n'est pas certain non plus que tout ce qui naissait dans le harem fût considéré comme prince royal. L'expression *fils* ou *fille du bit-ridûti de tel roi*, insinue au contraire

qu'il y avait des fils et filles du roi qui n'étaient pas du *bit-ridûti*. Il est raconté (Pr. Rs. col. III, ll. 11-18) que Uallî, roi de Manna, en signe de profonde soumission, envoya à Ninive, pour baiser les pieds d'Assurbanipal, Irisinni, le *mar riduti-šu*. Cela signifie le *fils de sa domination*, son héritier présomptif. Traduire : le fils *qu'il avait engendré*, c'est, dans ce contexte, faire dire à Assurbanipal rien du tout.

L. 9.—Plusieurs ont lu, en un mot, *Aššur-îtil-ilâni-ukinni*, bien que le nom du roi dont il s'agit se lise ailleurs *Aššur-îtil-ilâni*. Notre lecture et notre interprétation nous semblent justifiées par les faits exposés dans la note à la ligne 12. En vertu de ces faits Assurbanipal aurait pu dire : Asarhaddon *m'a constitué, ukin-inni*, grand fils-du-roi (premier prince royal) du *bit-ridûti*.

L. 11.—L'origine d'Aššur-šarrat est ravalée du côté maternel seulement. Toute la lettre indique qu'elle était de sang royal par son père. Mais elle n'était pas fille du *bit-ridûti*, et sœur ou parente reconnue de Širua-îtirat.

L. 12.—Ce titre ne tend pas, contre l'intention de la lettre, à relever la condition d'Aššur-šarrat, mais le nom d'Assurbanipal.

Il est étonnant qu'Assurbanipal ne soit pas désigné ici simplement comme roi d'Assur ; il ne l'est pas moins qu'Assurbanipal lui-même, après la défaite et la mort de Šamaš-šum-ukin, par conséquent après au moins vingt ans de règne, commence sa principale inscription (Prisme Rassam) en ces termes tout à fait insolites : "Assurbanipal, grand fils-du-roi du *bit-ridûti*." On en est d'autant plus déconcerté que dans les inscriptions qui sont antérieures, puisqu'il y parle de Šamaš-šum-ukin vivant, Assurbanipal prend le titre de roi (voir Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin*, 2<sup>e</sup> partie, pp. 14-27, et tables 17-22, 25-27, 32, 34-39).

Quel est le mot de l'énigme ? Nous croyons pouvoir le donner aujourd'hui mieux que nous ne l'avons fait jadis.

Assurbanipal, dans une des inscriptions antérieures à la révolte de Šamaš-šum-ukin, énumère ses frères, suivant leur rang d'âge. Il nomme Šamaš-šum-ukin, son frère *talimi* ; Aššur-mukin-palia, son frère *kuṭṭinni* ; Aššur-îtil-šami-u-iršiti-balaṭsu, son frère *šihra* (Lehmann, op. cit., 2<sup>e</sup> P., p. 18 ; table 25, ll. 11-18). Les mots *kuṭṭinnu* et *šihru*, signifient, l'un et l'autre, *petit* ; ils sont employés ici dans le sens comparatif de *minor* et *minimus*. Šamaš-šum-ukin était donc plus âgé que les deux frères nommés après lui. Il est qualifié par Assurbanipal, dans d'autres passages encore, de frère *talimu* ; à son tour,

il appelle Assurbanipal son frère *talimu*. (Lehmann, op. cit., 2<sup>e</sup> P., p. 12; table 9, l. 24.) Ils sont donc égaux en âge, *talimu* signifie *jumeau* (cf. Delitzsch, *Handw.*, pp. 707, 708). Il est impossible, en effet, de s'arrêter à l'idée qu'ils étaient nés de mères différentes au même moment. Mais la succession au trône d'Assyrie ne pouvant être dévolue qu'à un seul, Asarhaddon se décida en faveur d'Assurbanipal; il le fit reconnaître comme grand fils-du-roi du *bit-ridûti*, et le plaça sur son trône, comme héritier présomptif, dans une assemblée solennelle des ses grands officiers et de ses vassaux. C'est ce qu'Assurbanipal nous raconte au commencement du Prisme Rassam. Nous apprenons par la même inscription (col. 3, ll. 70-77) que Šamaš-šum-ukin tenait son titre de roi de Babylone non pas de son frère Assurbanipal, mais de son père Asarhaddon. Si on pouvait douter de l'exactitude de ce renseignement, nous le confirmerions par des lettres à Asarhaddon dans lesquelles Šamaš-šum-ukin est nommé *fils-du-roi, de Babylone*, c'est-à-dire, héritier présomptif du royaume de Babylone (Harp., 23 et 113).

Malgré le tempérament dont usa Asarhaddon, il semble tout à fait improbable que Šamaš-šum-ukin ait jamais reconnu sincèrement à Assurbanipal des droits supérieurs aux siens, et qu'il se fût contenté même d'une entière indépendance dans son apanage de Babylone. La *mar-šarrûti* d'Assurbanipal, c'est-à-dire, sa qualité de *mar šarri* par excellence, qui lui donnait le droit au trône d'Assyrie et à l'empire, semble lui avoir été disputée. Du moins il remercie les dieux de lui avoir conservée non pas sa royauté, mais sa *mar-šarrûti*, ses droits au trône (Prisme de Rassam, col. 10, ll. 60-63), expression tout à fait extraordinaire et certainement intentionnelle. Il se peut aussi que son compétiteur eût laissé des fils, héritiers de ses prétentions. Dans ce cas Assurbanipal et ceux qui se rattachaient à lui avaient intérêt à rappeler sa *mar-šarrûti*. Et c'est ce que fait Širunaitirat, qui doit sa position à Aššur-îl-ilani, son père ou son frère, fils d'Assurbanipal.

Dans cet ordre d'idées, fils-du-roi exprime donc la naissance et, de plus, un titre, l'équivalent d'héritier présomptif. Preuve ces mots de K. 626 (Harper 24), recto, ll. 5, 6 : *šulmu ana mar šarri, šulmu ana Šamaš-šum-ukin*, "tout va bien pour le fils-du-roi, tout va bien pour Šamaš-šum-ukin." Celui-ci, fils du roi, n'est pas encore fils-du-roi, ou n'est pas désigné comme tel. Il l'est K. 602 (Harper 23), verso, l. 12 : *mar šarri û mar šarri Babilu*, "le fils-du-roi et le fils-du-roi de Babylone" (et non fils du roi de Babylone). Il s'agit

d'Assurbanipal, l'héritier présomptif par excellence, et de Šamaš-šum-ukin, héritier présomptif pour Babylone.

Širua-ítirat, la grande fille du *bit-ridûti*, avait, dans l'ordre féminin, une prééminence supposant et sa naissance royale et de plus une sorte de consécration, car Aššur-ítal-lani, son frère ou père, l'avait constituée telle.

## II.

K. 1066.—Harper 277

KUDUR AU ROI DE NINIVE

Après une introduction insinuante, Kudur engage le roi à tenir à distance deux autres Babyloniens ou Chaldéens, Mušizib-Marduk et l'oncle maternel de celui-ci, Bel-ibni, qu'il accuse d'avoir des intelligences avec les Élamites et de les aider sous main.—Écriture babylonienne.

## RECTO

1. *A-na šar matâti bi-ili-ia*
2. *arad-ka (h.) Kudur Uruk(-ki) û Bit-An-na*
3. *a-na šar matâti bi-ili-ia lk-ru-bu*
4. *um-mu-us-su Ištar Uruk(-ki) u (d.) Na-na-a*
5. *a-na balaš napsâti ša šarri bi-ili-ia u-šal-lu*
6. *(h.) U-pa-ku ša šarru bilu-a iš-pu-ru*
7. *id-tan-nu-nu Bîl û Nabu Ištar Uruk(-ki)*
8. *û (d.) Na-na-a ul-tu ši-it (d.) Šamši(-ši)*
9. *a-di i-rib (d.) Šamši(-ši) lu-kaš-tu-ma*
10. *a-na šarri bilu-a lid-di-nu û šarrâni*
11. *ša nap-ḥar matâti a-na pa-ni [𒀭𒌷] kakki ša šarri bili-ia*
12. *lu-šak-ni-šu ta-ab-ta-a-ti ša šarri bili-ia*
13. *i-na ili-ia in-di-da û in-na*
14. . . . . *bil di-ni-ia šarru bili-ia*
15. . . . . *pi-lu*
16. . . . . *i*
17. . . . .
18. . . . .

## VERSO

19. . . . .
20. . . . .

21. *a-na mat šu-mi<sup>2</sup> . . . . . nu*
22. *(h.) Mu-šî-zib-Marduk mar aḫati-šu ša (h.) Bîl-ib-nî*
23. *ša II šanitu III šanitu i-na na-aš-pa-ar-ti ša (h.) Bîl-ib-nî*
24. *a-na pa-nî šarri bî-ili-ia il-li-ku*
25. *(h.) Bîl-ib-nî i-na muḫ-ḫi ip-ti-ḫid-su*
26. *amilu ša ili babi i-ga-bu-niš-šî ṣabî a-ga-a*
27. *ul amil ra<sup>2</sup>-ma-nî-i ša bit bîli-ia šu-nu*
28. *a-na i-bi-ri-šu-nu a-na lib-bi ul ṭa-a-bu*
29. *i-na ṭî-i-mu ša mat šarri bîli-ia*
30. *ûznâ ša mat Ilamti i-pat-tu-u*
31. *û su-un-ḫu i-na mat Ilamti(-ki) ša-kin-ma*
32. *šu-nu ma-ka-lu-u i-na lib-bi u-šab-šu-u*
33. *a-na šarri bîli-ia al-tap-ra šarru bîlu-a*
34. *ki-i ša i-li<sup>2</sup>-u li-pu-uš*

(1) Au roi des pays, mon maître. (2, 3) Ton serviteur Kudur. Puissent Uruk et le temple d'Anna être propices au roi des pays, mon maître. (4, 5) Chaque jour, je prie Ištar d'Uruk et Nanâ pour la conservation de la vie du roi mon maître. (6) Upaḫu, que tu as envoyé, (7) prévaudra. Que Bîl, Nabu, Ištar d'Uruk, (8) et Nanâ, du levant du Soleil (9) jusqu'au couchant du Soleil, exterminent (les ennemis), (10) et qu'ils les livrent au roi mon maître, (10-12) qu'ils soumettent les rois de la totalité des pays devant l'*arme* (?) du roi mon maître. (12) Les bienfaits du roi mon maître (13) ont été nombreux pour moi . . . . .

. . . . . (22) Mušizib-Marduk, fils de la sœur de Bîl-ibni, (23) qui, deux fois, trois fois, par mandat de Bîl-ibni, (24) s'est rendu devant le roi mon maître. (25) De cela l'avait chargé Bîl-ibni, (26) homme que l'on dit être à la porte (du roi, demandant audience). Ceux-là (M.-M. et B.-i.) (27) ne sont pas gens aimant le roi mon maître. (28) Ils ne sont pas bons pour entrer dedans (chez le roi). (29, 30) Ils communiquent les nouvelles du roi mon maître aux oreilles d'Élam. (31) Et y a-t-il famine au pays d'Élam, (32) ils y introduisent, eux, des vivres.

(33) J'ai envoyé (ces renseignements) au roi mon maître ; (34) qu'il agisse comme il voudra.

## NOTES

L. 2.—*Uruk et le temple d'Anna*, pour les dieux de la ville et du temple.

L. 6.—Upaķu doit être un général en campagne.

L. 7.—*Itdannunu*, forme I, 2, de *dananu*. Peut-être prononçait-on *ittannunu* ou *iddannunu*.

L. 13.—*Indida*, pour *imtida*, forme I, 2, de *ma'-a-du*. L'*i* de la syllabe *di*, est probablement long, la forme fondamentale étant *im-ti'-i-da*.

Ll. 22-24.—Ces lignes sont la fin d'une phrase dont le commencement est effacé. On accuse M.-M. d'un acte compromettant.

25 —*Ina muḥḥi*, signifie *concernant* (cela). Bel-ibni avait chargé M.-M., de l'acte dont il est question ll. 22-24 et précédentes.

L. 26.—B.-i. était parti pour la résidence royale, et on disait qu'il y était déjà arrivé. La parenthèse explicative est suggérée par ll. 26, 27.

L. 28.—Littéralement: *Ils ne sont pas bons pour entrer, eux, dedans.*

L. 29-30.—Littéralement: *Ils ouvrent les oreilles du pays d'Élam en renseignement du* (=concernant le) *roi*. "Ouvrir l'oreille," dans le sans de renseigner est un idiotisme assyrien très connu. Cf. Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 37.

L. 32.—*Usabšû*, littéralement: *ils font qu'il y ait (des vivres).*

## III.

67-4-2, 1.—Harper, 399

## LE ROI DE NINIVE A BEL-IBNI

Cette petite lettre, qui a paru énigmatique (voir Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, t. I, pp. 236-238), devient plus claire, si on la rapproche de la précédente.

Kudur n'a pas réussi, du moins cette fois, à perdre ses deux rivaux dans l'esprit du roi de Ninive. Celui-ci fait savoir à Bel-ibni qu'il admet Mušizib-Marduk à sa plus intime familiarité. On trouvera peut-être les raisons de cette faveur dans une lettre de Bel-ibni au roi (K. 10. Harper, 280), dont nous nous occuperons dans la suite.—Écriture babylonienne.



## VERSO

1. *A-mat šarri*
2. *a-na (h.) Bīl-ibni*
3. *šulmu (-mu) a-a-ši*
4. *lib-ba-ka*
5. *lu-u-ṭa-ab-ka*
6. *ina īli (h.) Mu šī-zib-Marduk*
7. *ma-al um-mi-šu i-tir-ba*
8. *i-na pa-ni-ia*
9. *ḥarran ina šipī-šu*

## RECTO

10. *al-ta-kan*
11. *nu-bat-ti*
12. *ina Ninua(-ki) ul i-lil*

(1) Parole du roi (2) à Bīl-ibni. (3) Je vais bien. (4) Que ton cœur (5) soit heureux. (6) Pour ce qui concerne Mušizib-Marduk, (7) en chacun de ses jours, il entrera (8) en ma présence; (9, 10) je ferai route par ses pieds (c'est-à-dire, il m'accompagnera dans mes voyages); (11, 12) il ne poussera pas de lamentation à Ninua.

## NOTES

L. 3.—Cette ligne (qui se traduirait littéralement: *bon état à moi*) forme une phrase complète, sans le lien grammatical qu'on y a vu avec les deux lignes suivantes, comme le prouve ce passage (K. 486. Harper, 303) d'un billet du roi à sa mère: *Šulmu āši, lu sulmu ana um šarri*; "Je vais bien, salut à la mère du roi."

Le roi se permet de dire qu'il va bien. Personne d'autre n'en use ainsi dans les lettres. La même particularité s'observe dans les lettres royales de Tell el-Amarna. Ce *šulmu āši* avec le vœu qui l'accompagne, se lit le plus souvent en tête des lettres du roi de Ninive (Harper, 287-307, 399-402). La lettre 403, commence cependant ainsi: *Amat šarri ana lu Babilai. Šulmu āši*. "Parole du roi aux non-babyloniens. Je vais bien"; et sans exprimer le vœu habituel, le roi entre en matière, et réprimande le groupe de Babyloniens indignes de ce nom auquel il s'adresse. On voit le motif de cette omission.—Dans les lettres 304-307, le roi omet le *šulmu āši* et le bon souhait, sans doute à cause du rang trop inférieur des destinataires.



Au lieu de *šulmu âši*, on rencontre trois fois (Harper, 298-300), la formule optative *lu šulmu âši*. Mais ce sont des restitutions contraires à l'analogie (voir 287-297, 301-303, 399-403), qui n'ont aucune probabilité. Si les lacunes des tablettes indiquent trop d'espace pour *šulmu* écrit -mu, on doit supposer -mu, qui en demande davantage. Il est vrai cependant que le roi ne peut pas toujours dire qu'il se porte bien, et l'on conçoit des cas où la formule optative lui conviendrait davantage. Mais il faudrait des exemples certains de cet emploi.

Au *šulmu âši* (ou *aiši*?) des messages royaux, correspond la manière de demander une réponse au roi. On le prie d'envoyer de ses bonnes nouvelles : *šulmu*. Je cite un exemple (Harper, 44), que je traduis en latin, pour mieux suivre l'ordre des expressions assyriennes :

*Šulmu ša šarri bīlīa—ṭub libbišu—û ṭub širišu—ina gabrī—ša īgirtia—šarru bīlu—ana (amil) ardišu—lišpura.*

Salutem regis domini mei,—bonum cordis sui,—et bonum carnum suarum,—in responsione—ad epistolam meam,—rex dominus meus—ad servum suum mandet.

Ou bien on lui dit (Harper, 50) :

Salutem regis . . . . . in responsione ad epistolam meam audiam (*lašmī*).

Ligne 12.—Le dernier mot :   peut se lire *i-kit*, *i-mal*, et, dans l'écriture babylonienne, qui est celle du document, *i-lil* (Brünnnow, 597). La dernière lecture donne seule un sens. *Ilil* serait le futur du verbe *alalu* au sens d'*ululare*. Il est vrai que ce verbe ne s'est rencontré que dans le sens de *pousser des cris de joie* (Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 73). Mais s'il y avait un *alalu ṭabu* (*ibid.*), il est à croire qu'il y avait aussi un *alalu la ṭabu*.—Cette interprétation est très probable, si *nubattu* signifie réellement *lamentation*, comme le soupçonne M. Delitzsch (*Handw.*, p. 446).

#### IV

#### EXCURSUS

SUR LE SENS DE “ŠULMU ANA, PURKU, NATAḪU.”

*Lu šulmu ana*, “Salut à tel,” est la formule de politesse ordinaire qui suit l'indication du destinaire et de l'envoyeur dans les lettres publiées par M. R. Fr. Harper. On rencontre deux fois seulement,

à cette place, *šulmu ana*, sans la particule optative (151, 336), et ces exceptions, vu l'usage contraire si invariablement observé, proviennent probablement d'oublis des scribes. En revanche *šulmu ana Y*, chose ou personne différente du destinataire, se lit en quarante-neuf passages : lettres 5, 7, 9, 12, 24, 32, 62, 92, 99, 108, 109, 126, 128, 129, 130, 138, 139, 146, 174, 175, 176, 178, 186, 191, 196, 197, 199, 200, 208, 216, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 254, 261, 264, 313 (douteux), 314, 315, 318, 343, 349, 363, 388, 392, 397, 424.

Nous avons vu des traducteurs prendre *šulmu ana Y* comme un souhait. Nous pensons au contraire que c'est toujours une affirmation et que la formule signifie que tout va bien pour les personnes ou les choses dont il s'agit. Il importe d'établir un point dont dépend, en tout ou en partie, le sens de tant de lettres.

Il faut traduire de la même façon *šulmu ana* au commencement de la lettre 349 (babylonienne), que nous citons en entier :

*Ana šarri bīlīa—aradka (h.) Marduk-šar-aḥīšu—ša pitkudanni ša bit (h.) Nabu-lū (?)—ina Barzip (ki) inaššaru—lu šulmu ana šarri bīlī—libbi ša šarri bīlī ma'adiš lūtābi—šulmu ana mašartaia—ašar šarru bīlīa ipkidanni—adū ana šarri bīlī altapra—(amil) Barzipai ša sīḥi ipuššunu-ma—aḥamiš iddukū—anini ina muḥḥi mašarta ša šarru bīlī-ani ipkidannanni nšuzanni—(amil) Utu'ai (amil) Iaduḫuai ū (amil) Riḫikuai—ša šarru bīlīa itti ušazizzi—ana mašartāni—itti aḥamiš ninaššaru—libbi ša šarri bīlīni lūtābi—šarru bīlī-ani liššu-annaši ma lib . . . . . ni lūtābanši (pour lūtāb-annaši).*

“Au roi mon maître—Ton serviteur Marduk-šar-aḥīšu,—qu'il a établi pour garder la maison de Nabu-lū (?) à Borsippa.—Salut au roi mon maître.—Que le cœur du roi, mon maître, grandement se réjouisse.—Il va bien pour mon poste de garde—où le roi mon maître m'a placé. Maintenant—je mande au roi mon maître :—Les Borsippiens qui ont fait un soulèvement—se tuent les uns les autres.—Nous, nous restons au poste de garde auquel le roi notre maître m'a préposé.—Utuhien, Yadaḫien, Riḫikien,—que le roi mon maître a postés avec moi pour le garde,—nous veillons ensemble.—Que le cœur du roi mon maître soit content.—Que le roi nous dégage (?), et que notre cœur à nous soit content.”

L'auteur de la lettre garde, à Borsippa, une maison qui renferme probablement quelques dépôts appartenant au roi. Le poste est intact jusqu'à présent, mais il est menacé ; on fait savoir ces deux choses au roi. Le correspondant est à peine connu du roi ; c'est

pour cela que, contre l'habitude, il décline son titre. Il paraît tout à fait incroyable qu'il dise *šulmu ana mašartaia* dans le sens de *Vive mon poste*; son poste est trop insignifiant.

Nous ne croyons pas davantage que l'auteur de la lettre 343 crie: "Vive le fort que je garde," dans l'extrait que voici:

*Ana šarri bīlia—aradka (h.) Zabâ—(amil) rab (v.) ḥalšu—ša (v.) Appina—lu šulmu ana šarri šulmu ana (v.) ḥalšu—šulmu ana (amil) ardāni—ša šarri bīlia.*

"Au roi mon maître.—Ton serviteur Zabâ,—commandant du fort—de la ville d'Appina.—Salut au roi mon maître!—Bon état du fort,—bon état des serviteurs du roi mon maître."

Les serviteurs du roi sont apparemment les hommes aux ordres de Zabâ. On ne voit pas pourquoi on pousserait un *vivat* en leur honneur, dans une lettre au roi.

Il faut comprendre de même *šulmu ana ḥalšu*, *šulmu ana birat*, *birti* (citadelle), dans des passages comme celui-ci (388):

*Lu šulmu ana šarri bīli—šulmu ana (v.) ḥalšu* (314, etc.: *ana birti*).

Que les énoncés de ce genre fassent partie des renseignements donnés au roi par ses correspondants, cela est dit formellement dans la lettre 261:

*Ana šarri bīlini—ardānika (h.) Nabu-šum-lišir ū (h.) Dan-Bīl-lumur—lū šulum ana šarri bīlini—ummā ana šarri bīlinia—ma—šulum ana (v.) ḥalši ū imuḫi ša šarri—libbi ša šarri bīlini lūtābi.*

"Au roi notre maître.—Tes serviteurs Nabu-šum-lišir et Dan-Bīl-lumur.—Salut au roi notre maître.—En ces termes au roi notre maître: Bon état des forteresses et des troupes du roi.—Que le cœur du roi notre maître soit content."

Le sens affirmatif de l'expression est également évident dans les lettres 224 et 225, envoyées par un certain Uḫati, et moulées dans la même forme. Nous citons le numéro 225, parce que 224 offre trop de lacunes.

*Ana šarri bīli-ia—aradka (h.) Uḫati—lu šulmu ana šarri—šulmu ana mašarti—adanniš—šulmu ana mad-ba-ri-[i] ša mat Ḥamati gabbu—libbu ša šarri bīli-ia lutāb— . . . . . bit šarru . . . . . — . . . . . —la nišmi—šulmu adanniš.*

"Au roi mon maître.—Ton serviteur Uḫati.—Salut au roi mon maître.—Il va bien pour la garde,—absolument.—Il va bien pour tout le désert du pays de Ḥamat.—Que le cœur du roi mon maître

soit content. . . . . nous n'avons pas entendu. Bonne situation, absolument."

Uḫati dit au roi que la garde se fait bien et qu'il n'est rien arrivé de fâcheux dans le désert d'Amath, c'est-à-dire que les tribus de cette région sont restées tranquilles. Le sens affirmatif est naturel; le sens optatif serait absurde.

La lettre 196 débute ainsi :

*Lu šulmu ana šarri bīli-ia*  
*šulmu ana mat Assur (ki)*  
*šulmu ana ikurrāti*  
*šulmu ana (v.) birat ša šarri gabbi*  
*libbu ša šarri bīli-ia adanniš lutāb*

On pourrait se demander si *lu* exprimé à la première ligne n'est pas sous-entendu devant *šulmu* aux lignes suivantes. Il n'est pas sous-entendu, comme le démontre la lettre 92, où nous lisons dans l'ordre inverse :

*Šulmu ana* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶  
*šulmu ana ikurrati*  
*šulmu ana (v.) Aššur*  
*šulmu ana mat Aššur (ki)*  
*lu šulmu ana šarri bīli-ia*

Ces deux lettres sont adressées au roi dans une de ses nombreuses absences, et on lui dit, avant ou après la salutation ordinaire, que tout va bien au pays d'Assur.

La nécessité de répéter *lu* ou *lū* dans une série de *šulmu* optatifs est confirmée par les salutations de la lettre 377.

*Lū šulmu lū šulmu lū šulmu ana šarri bīli-ia adu I M lū šulmu ana šarri bīli-ia.*

"Salut, salut, salut au roi mon maître; jusqu'à mille saluts au roi mon maître."

La différence essentielle entre *lu šulmu* et *šulmu* est aussi bien marquée dans la lettre 146 par la reprise de *lu šulmu* :

*Ana šarri bīli—aradka (h.) Aššur-rišūa—lu šulmu ana šarri bīli—šulmu ana mati ša šarri—šulmu ana (v.) haḷṣu—lu šulmu ana šarri bīli.*

"Au roi mon maître.—Ton serviteur Aššur-rišūa. Salut au roi mon maître.—Il va bien pour le pays du roi, il va bien pour la forteresse.—Salut au roi mon maître."

Le pays du roi, c'est évidemment la portion de territoire gardée par Aššur-rišūa autour de la forteresse qu'il commande. Il faut entendre dans le même sens affirmatif la formule *šulmu ana mat šarri* dans les autres lettres écrites au roi par des officiers employés dans les provinces. Voir lettres 128 l. 4, 129 l. 3, adressées au roi par un fonctionnaire de service à Kar-Šarrûkin, forteresse bâtie par Sargon en Médie.

Dans la lettre 191, on répond par un *šulmu ana* affirmatif, à une question que le roi est censé se poser à une nouvelle inquiétante qu'il reçoit.

*Ištu (v.) Iškia—ana (v.) Dur-Šarrûkin atalka—ikdibûni* (pour *iktibûni*)—*mâ ri-i-bu* (rac. רהב)—*um sibû ša arḫu Addaru—ina (v.) Dur-Šarrûkin irtamaba* (pour *irtanaba*, rac. רהב)—*isuri šarru—bîli ikabbi—mâ 'au rātu [ina] lib dur mimini—šulmu ana išrîti—ana gursîti—ana ikalli—ana dur—ana bitâti ša maḥazi gabbî—libbu ša šarri bîli-ia lutâb.*

“D’Iškia—je me suis rendu à Dur-Šarrûkin.—On m’a dit :—“Une tempête,—le 7<sup>e</sup> jour du mois d’Adar,—a fait rage à Dur-Šarrûkin.”—Si le roi—mon maître dit : \* Y a-t-il eu quelque dommage dans la forteresse?—(je réponds :) pas de dommage pour les temples,—pour les . . . ,—pour le palais,—pour la forteresse,—pour aucune maison de la ville.—Que le cœur du roi mon maître soit content.”

Il faut interpréter *šulmu ana* comme nous le faisons, si l’on ne veut pas rendre trop bizarre le commencement (seule partie conservée) de la lettre 232 :

*Lu šulmu ana šarri bîli-ia*  
*šulmu ana ikurrâti*  
*šulmu [ana] (v.) Kalḫa*  
*šulmu ana zinnišat ikalli*  
*šulmu ana (amîl) kallûti*  
*[ša] (v.) Dur-sarrûkin*

Si les *šulmu* 2-5 sont optatifs, on salue ici pêle-mêle le roi, les temples, les villes de Kalach et de Dour-Sargon, et les femmes du palais, c'est-à-dire du harem royal. Il est plus naturel d'écrire au roi absent que tout est au mieux pour ses femmes comme pour le reste.

\* Ou bien : Peut-être le roi mon maître se dira-t-il.

Il est aussi, non pas plus naturel, mais plus conforme à l'induction philologique, de comprendre *šulmu ana* dans ce sens que l'on donne de bonnes nouvelles, à Asarhaddon, du *fils-du-roi*, c'est-à-dire de l'héritier presomptif, Assurbanipal, et de son second fils, Šamaš-šum-ukin (24); à Sargon, de bonnes nouvelles de Sennachérib, le *grand fils-du-roi* (216, cf. 108, 109).

La lettre 62, que nous allons citer, ne dit absolument rien si on y prend *šulmu ana* dans le sens optatif. Elle est adressée à un personnage dont le titre est effacé.

*Ana*  | . . . . . |  *bīli-ia—aradka* (h.) *Nabu-šum-iddin—lu šulmu ana bīli—*(d.) *Nabu ū* (d.) *Marduk* (d.) *Ištar ša Ninua* (ki) (d.) *Ištar ša Arba-il a-na bīli-ia lik-ru-bu—lu-šal-li-mu-ka—libbaka kaiamani luṭāba—šulmu ina bīti ana niši ša ina* (v.) *Ninua—ū šulmu issika* (d.) *Bil ū* (d.) *Nabu lipḫidu*.

Le destinataire est en voyage; on lui donne de bonnes nouvelles de ceux des siens qui sont chez eux, *ina bit, domi*, à Ninive. Le reste est de pure politesse. (On honore rarement le roi de plus de civilités que le personnage auquel on s'adresse ici. On lui en donne souvent moins. Il arrive qu'on lui dise simplement: *salut au roi mon maître* (par ex. 188 et 343, cités ci-dessus); parfois même on ne lui accorde que: *Ton serviteur*, sans plus comme aux numéros 121-124, toutes lettres du même Gabbu-ana-Aššur. Certaines lettres adressées aux rois d'Assyrie par leurs sujets sont gonflées de formules obséquieuses, mais on n'y descend pas au degré de platitude qui caractérise les vassaux chananéens du roi d'Égypte dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna).

Voici la traduction de notre pièce:

“A l'homme x, mon maître.—Ton serviteur Nabu-šum-iddin.—Salut à mon maître.—Que Nabu et Marduk, Istar de Ninive, Istar d'Arbelles, soient propices à mon maître.—Qu'ils te rendent heureux.—Que ton cœur soit constamment joyeux.—Il va bien chez eux, pour les gens qui sont à Ninive.—Que Bil et Nabu attachent le bonheur à ta suite.”

On ne peut pas non plus ranger le premier *šulmu*, comme le second, sous l'influence du *lu* qui est compris dans *lipḫidu*, et traduire: “Que les dieux attachent le bonheur aux gens qui sont chez eux à Ninive, et la bonheur à ta suite.” Car alors on a une lettre qui ne renferme que des souhaits.

Pour avoir étudié toutes les particularités des contextes où se rencontre l'expression *šulmu ana* dans nos documents, il me reste à



la considérer dans une phrase spéciale qui se rencontre dans six lettres (5, 7, 9, 12, 178, 363).

Voici comment elle se présente au numéro 5 :

*Lu šulmu ana šarri bilī*  
 (d.) *Nabu (d.) Marduk ilāni*  
*rabūti ša šami ū iršiti*  
*ana šarri bilī likrubu*  
*ṭūb libbi tub širi*  
*ana šarri bilī-ia*  
*lidinu*  
*ana piḫidti ša (d.) Bilit parši*  
*sulmu adanniš*  
*libbu ša šarri bilī-ia*  
*adanniš lūtāb*

La phrase en question est celle que nous imprimons en romaines.

Le mot *piḫidti* signifie *administration*, mais c'est l'abstrait pour le concret, les *administrateurs*, les *préposés*, car au numéro 12, dans la même formule, le mot est précédé de  $\Sigma\equiv\equiv$ , déterminatif qui indique des hommes. Les préposés dont il s'agit étaient chargés d'un certain ministère relatif à la déesse *Bilit parši* (c'est à-dire, la Dame des décisions).

Dans les lettres 5 et 12, notre phrase *ana piḫidti . . . . .* est précédée et suivie de phrases optatives caractérisées par *lu*, *l*. Elle n'est même précédée et suivie que de phrases formellement optatives ainsi marquées dans les lettres 7 et 178. Elle en est précédée, mais pas suivie, dans la lettre 363. Elle insinue déjà par ce contraste si persistant un sens affirmatif, qui sera parfaitement démontré d'ailleurs.

La phrase signifie que tout est en règle dans le ministère relatif à la déesse *Bilit parši*.

On fait savoir au roi (lettre 42, ll. 7 sv.) avec des expressions semblables, *ina šulmi*, *ina šalinti* (pour *šulimti*), dans des phrases affirmatives précédées et suivies d'énoncés formellement optatifs, qu'une procession des dieux s'est accomplie régulièrement. Nous donnons la partie narrative de ce passage, et les souhaits qui le terminent, parce que cette dernière partie est très instructive au point de vue de la phrase *šulmu ana piḫidti . . . .* :

*Itimali ūmu šalšu—Aššur (d.) Adar ina šulmi ittušiu—ina šalinti itarbūni—ilāni gabbu ammar itti Aššur ušūni—ina šulmi ina*



*šubtišunu ittušbu—libbu ša šarri bīlī lutāb—Aššur [Adar] IC šanāti—ana šarri bīlī [liddinu].*

“Hier, le 3<sup>e</sup> jour,—Aššur et Adar sont sortis heureusement,—et heureusement rentrés.—Tous les dieux, autant qu’il en est sorti avec Aššur,—se sont rassis heureusement dans leur demeure.—Que le cœur du roi mon maître soit satisfait ;—qu’Aššur et Adar donnent cent ans au roi mon maître.”

De même, le bon ordre du *piḫidti* est un gage de longue vie pour le roi, d’après la lettre 9, où notre phrase, encadrée à part cela d’optatifs comme aux numéros 5, 7, 12, 178, est suivie d’une proposition affirmant cette consolante idée. Peu importe qu’il s’agisse ici, comme au numéro 363, non plus du *piḫidti* de *Bilit parši*, mais du *piḫidti* du *bit kutalli* ; les deux sont mis sur le même rang pour l’effet qu’on espère.

*Lū šulmu ana šarri bīlī*  
*(d.) Nabu (d.) Marduk ana šarri bīlī*  
*likrubu šulmu ana*  
*piḫidti ša bit kutalli*  
*rišišu intatḥa*  
*ilāni rabūti ša šarri bīlī*  
*sumšunu issiḫḫūni nimal-šu*  
*ana šarri bīlīa*  
*lukallimu*

Je traduis dans le même sens que M. Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, T. I, p. 225, excepté pour les parties imprimées en romaines dans la transcription, et en italiques dans la version :

“Salut au roi mon maître. Que, Nabu, Marduk, soient propices au roi mon maître. *Tout va bien pour le service du bit kutalli ; sa tête (la tête du roi) blanchira.* Que les grands dieux dont le roi mon maître *a glorifié* (Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 473) le nom, fasse voir au roi mon maître l’objet de ses désirs.” \*

\* Ramman-šum-ušur, l’auteur de la lettre, fait ce bon souhait pour le roi : “à cause de ces paroles et de ces bénédictions (*ikribi*) que le seigneur roi a envoyées à son chien, à son serviteur, au grison (*paršumi*) de sa maison, et dont il l’a béni (*ikrubūni*).”

Nous n’avons pas la lettre du roi qui a provoqué cette effusion de sentiment. Mais on peut dire que le roi a parlé à peu près ainsi : *N. ū N. ilāni rabūti ana ardi-ia likrubu.* Ce devait être une distinction rare ; on ne rencontre pas cette formule une seule fois dans les lettres royales publiées par M. Harper (287-307, 399-403). Le roi a glorifié (*issiḫḫūni*) les nom des dieux en les appelant grands, *rabūti* ; il a béni, fait allusion au *likrubu* de la formule dont nous avons cité plusieurs exemples.

La tête du roi blanchira, c'est-à-dire, le roi atteindra un grand âge, à cause de la régularité du *piḫidti* du *bit kutalli*, comme il a chance d'arriver à cent ans à cause d'une procession religieuse accomplie suivant les rites. Ce sens est rendu évident et pas moins le sens affirmatif de la phrase *šulmu a.p.* . . . par la lettre 178 :

*Ana šarri bīlīa*  
*aradka (h.) Marduk-našir*  
*(d.) Nabu ū (d.) Marduk*  
*ana šarri bīlīa*  
*adanniš adanniš*  
*likrubu*  
*šulmu adannis adanniš*  
*ana piḫidti*  
*ša (d.) Bīlit parši*  
*libbi ša šarri*  
*bīlīa*  
*adanniš luṭabšu*  
*ša piḫidti*  
*ša (d.) Bīlit parši*  
*šarru bīlī*  
*mar-marī (pl.)-šu*  
*ina burkišu*  
*lintuḫū*  
*paršumāti*  
*ina ziknišunu*  
*limur*

“Au roi mon maître. Ton serviteur Marduk-našir. Que Nabu et Marduk soient grandement, grandement propices au roi mon maître. Tout va très, très bien, pour le ministère de Bīlit-parši ; que le cœur du mon maître se réjouisse grandement. Grâce au service Bīlit-parši, puissent les petits-fils du roi mon maître blanchir sous sa protection (la protection du roi) ; qu'il lui soit donné de voir des poils blancs dans leur barbe !”

*Šulmu adanniš adanniš ana piḫidti ša Bīlit parši*, est le fait sur lequel se fonde le souhait : *libbi . . . . . luṭabšu*. Et *ša piḫidti B. p.* reprend la même fait comme fondement des vœux qui terminent la lettre.

Nous avons traduit *burki* par *protection*, bien que peut-être le mot assyrien exprime cette idée avec une nuance ou une image qui

nous échappe. Ce sens est aussi indiqué par ces contrats qui parlent de telle ou telle somme déposée comme gage, *ina burki* de tel ou tel dieu, III Rawlinson, 46, 5, 24; 48, 5, 18; 50, 4, 21 (passages indiqués, non traduits, par Delitzsch, *Hdw.*, au mot *burku*), et par l'oracle (IV R. 61, 69a) qui après avoir promis une vie paisible à Asarhaddon, ajoute que son fils, et puis son petit-fils exercera (*upaš = uppaš*, II, 1, de *īpišu*) la royauté *ina burki Adar*. Ce dernier exemple semble montrer que dans notre passage *burki-šu*, signifie la protection de Bilit, malgré *šu* au lieu de *ša*, exception qui se recontre fréquemment, mais la formule optative de notre passage se répète dans la lettre 406, recto, ll. 12-15, sans qu'il y soit fait mention d'aucune divinité. Le nom propre *Barik-ilu* (= protégé de la divinité) confirme notre interprétation de *burki*, et la lecture *burki* au lieu de *purki*.

*Intuhu*, et *intatḥa* (lettre 9) sont mis pour *imtuḥu* et *imtatḥu* (comme le prouvent les formes *mutuḥ* et *amataḥuni* dans des passages cités plus bas), et sont des formes I, 1, et I, 2, du verbe *mataḥu*. Le sens de *blanchir*, que nous lui donnons est insinué par les *poils blancs* de la phrase qui suit dans la lettre, et il s'applique à merveille à la tête du roi dans la lettre 9, citée plus haut.

*Mataḥu* signifie blanchir d'une blancheur éclatante; il passe de là (forme IV, 2) au sens général de *briller* (comme le latin *candere candor*). *Mataḥu* (I, 1) a aussi le sens transitif, *éclairer*, et (I, 1, 2) probablement, *dorer*. Les exemples rassemblés par Strassmaier (*Wörterv.*, 6168) et transcrits par Delitzsch (*Handw.*), et deux autres que j'ajouterai, s'expliquent suivant ces sens, d'un enchaînement très naturel.

*Mutuḥ inika dugulanni* (IV Rawlinson, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., 28b.), "Éclaire tes yeux (= ouvre les yeux), regarde moi." \*

*Umâ ittantaḥa ittahkim šapla kakkab narkabti ina ḥarrani šut Bīl izzaz*, "Maintenant (Jupiter, la planète) brille, on l'aperçoit (littéralement, il est aperçu). Il se trouve sous l'étoile du Char, dans le chemin de Bīl." III Rawlinson, 51, 9.

Le sens de *dorer* me semble ressortir de Harper 231 (K. 556), pièce malheureusement fort mutilée. Il est question là de travaux exécutés pour le roi de Ninive auquel la lettre est adressée. On lit ll. 4-11 :

\* Cité par Delitzsch (*Handw.*, p. 435). Je regrette de ne pouvoir recourir au contexte, n'ayant pas à ma portée la deuxième édition de IV Rawlinson.

(h.) *Sanini ša ana . . . . . iḥur is[kur] mā mar (h.) Sa[dir]*  
 1½ *mana ḥuraši a[na] . . . itidin mā 50 𐎶 . . . . . 𐎶𐎶 intataḥ ana*  
 . . . . . *mar (h.) Sadir . . . . . ḥuṣabu . . . . .*

Sanini s'est révolté, il a dit que le fils de Sadir avait remis à X une mine et demie d'or. X, avec cet or, a fait un certain travail (*intataḥ*) qui a produit ou modifié d'une certaine manière 50 objets (dont la désignation est effacée).—Comme on sait, par les exemples précédents, que le verbe *mataḥu* exprime l'idée de briller, il n'est pas impossible que *intataḥ* signifie ici dorer, d'autant plus que les 50 objets sont peut-être des vases, car le mot *ḥuṣabu*, qui se présente ensuite, dérive de la même racine que *ḥaṣbu* et *ḥaṣbatu*, poterie.

Les lignes 12-14 sont complètement effacées. Nous lisons ensuite :

. . . . . (h.) *Sadir . . . . . šanāti šarri . . . . . [marī?]*  
 (h.) *Sadir ina ikal itaḥru mā nitiniši mā ištu ikal iḫdibunaši mā ištu*  
 (amīl) *šabi išgar mušuḥa ša (h.) Sanini idabubuni mā atū iniši mā*  
*kī ša anaku ina ramina išgar amataḥuni mā šū ana ramini[šu]*  
*lintuḥu.*

Omettant la partie trop mutilée, nous traduisons :

“ Les . . . de Sadir se sont révoltés dans le palais, disant : Nous sommes fatigués. Du palais on nous a dit : Depuis qu'on fait briller le *išgar*, quant à Sanini il a dit : Je suis fatigué. Comme je dore par moi-même le *išgar*, que lui aussi (Sadir) le dore pour lui-même (pour sa part).”

(*Itaḥru* est la voix I, 2, et *iḥur*, dans la première citation, est la voix I, 1, de *aḥaru* qui doit signifier se rejeter en arrière, résister).

*Mušuḥa*, pour *muššuḥa*, voix II, 1, de *mašaḥu*, qui se dit à la voix I, 1, des étoiles : Une étoile *mišḥu imšiḥ*, “a brillé d'éclat”. *Mišiḥ kakkabi* est donné dans les documents lexicographiques assyriens comme synonyme de *sarar kakkabi*, l'éclat des étoiles (voir Delitzsch, *Handw.*, pp. 430, 431, 575).

*Išgar* complément de *mušuḥa*, l'est de même *amataḥu* dans la suite de la phrase. Cela insinue, pour *amataḥu*, un sens synonyme, celui de *dorer*, indiqué déjà par le commencement de la lettre.

## A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL SCARABS AND OTHERS, WITH A FEW CYLINDERS.

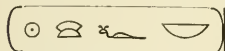
The Property of Mr. JOHN WARD, F.S.A., of Belfast.

*The arrangement and translations were made with the kind assistance of Mr. F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH, but the descriptions, done in simple style for beginners in Egyptology, are in the Author's own words. Dr. WALKER has given valuable assistance in the preparation of the hieroglyphs for press.*

### SCARABS, PLATE I.

**202. NEB·KA·RA.** This was the first king of the III<sup>RD</sup> DYNASTY according to MANETHO, who calls him NEKHEROFES. On the Turin list he is known as NEB KA. On the Abydos tablet he is also named . But on the Sakkarah list he is called  as on this scarab. It is of coloured steatite, very beautifully cut, and is mounted in a gold filigree ring, which is possibly of XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY work. This king's date is supposed to be 4212 B.C., and he reigned 28 years.

**206. KHA·F·RA, IV<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY (3908–3845 B.C.).** The builder of the Second Pyramid of Ghizeh and of the beautiful granite temple near the Great Sphinx. The scarab, which is of steatite, is well preserved, but has lost its green colour.



the king's name with the additional title of "Lord" . This great monarch is rendered familiar to us by his fine portraits found in his temple and preserved in the Cairo Museum.



DIORITE STATUE OF KHA·FRA.

*Cairo Museum.*

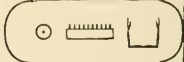
207. MEN·KAU·RA, IVTH DYNASTY (3845-3759 B.C.). Mr. Griffith considers that this scarab is not of this king's



STATUETTE OF MENKAURA.

*Cairo Museum.*

actual date, but made in memory of him. The figure seems of later date, but the cartouche, with the plumes over it,

() gives the

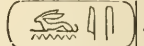
name as on his monuments, with the royal title  below the whole. Correctly, within it should be , but on scarabs the names are often abbreviated. We have also a portrait of this king, the builder of the Third Pyramid of Ghizeh, and also of the Pyramid of

Abu Roash (*vide* Petrie's *Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 55). There was a priesthood for the worship of Menkaure, of which traces have been found for more than a thousand years after his death.

331. NEFER·AR·KA·RA, VTH DYNASTY (3680-3660 B.C.)



A unique cylinder of this monarch is shown on Plate XVI, along with illustrations of other KAKAN cylinders in the Collection. (Some think this king was also known as KAKAA, but this is doubtful).

210. UNAS, VTH DYNASTY (3536-3503 B.C.), () The

pyramid of this king has been recently explored. It is at Sakkarah, and though ruined externally, the tomb-chamber is perfect, and contains some of the celebrated "pyramid texts," beautifully cut, and still retaining their blue paint. The sarcophagus is entire, and the three granite portcullises which closed the entrance passages against violators are still *in situ*. The king's remains were found in the coffin. But the pyramid itself, though well built inside, is a poor affair



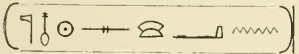
after the great ones of Ghizeh or Medum, and shows a great falling off in every way from those works of five hundred years earlier.

213. RA · EN · KA, VII<sup>TH</sup>–VIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES (3230–3220 B.C.),

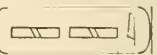
, sometimes called NE · KA · RA. A pretty little scarab with lotus group on either side of the cartouche. A very few scarabs are known of this king, but his name appears in the Abydos record, and some day doubtless his tomb will be found. Meanwhile we have only his scarabs and the Tablet of Abydos to prove his existence, for this part of the Turin papyrus is lost, and Manetho does not name him.

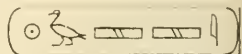
About this period the exact sequence of kings and dynasties becomes rather obscure, and there are several scarabs shown on Plate I whose owners have been moved back and forward by “experts” rather unmercifully (Nos. 7, 214, 222, 212 and 14). They have been placed as high as the VI<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, as low as the X<sup>TH</sup> or XI<sup>TH</sup>, or even lower. Their proper date will be proved some day; but meanwhile I have not fixed any period opposite them in the plate, and have placed them all below the scarabs of the XII<sup>TH</sup>–XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES, of whose period we are certain. However, as I am quite convinced that these scarabs are much earlier than the XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, I shall proceed to describe them now.

7. MAĀ · AB · RA is placed by Dr. Petrie (*Historical Scarabs*) in IX<sup>TH</sup>–X<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES. The specimen figured is a fine one, engraved on steatite, its green colouring gone. In addition to the ordinary name of the king, , it also bears the signs , *neter nefer dy ankh*, and also other signs flanking the cartouche.

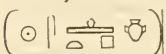
214. S · KHA · N · RA is of the same period—and belongs to a king known only by his scarabs. In addition to his name, the scarab has the signs *neter nefer*, thus . The tomb of this king may be found any day, and his place determined in the royal list.

222. KHYAN is placed by Dr. Petrie following the above in IXTH-XTH DYNASTIES (about 3100 B.C.). There is no doubt about this monarch, his granite statue was found at Bubastis, bearing his name, but unfortunately headless. This is one of the finest of his scarabs, containing the king's name within scroll-work  and  "son of the Sun" above, and "dy ankh," "giving life,"  below the cartouche. This king must have been a great conqueror, for a lion of granite, bearing his name, was found at Baghdad, and his monuments are scattered over Egypt. This king is generally believed to be of the same group as SHESHA but

212. SHESHA may be more ancient than the last. The inscription reads,  "son of the Sun"  "SHESHA"  "dy ankh," "giving life." His scarabs greatly resemble those of PEPY of the VITH DYNASTY.

14 is another scarab of SHESHA with  "son of the Sun SHESHA," within vertical lines of ornamental signs. The backs of these scarabs are well executed, and they retain some of their original green colouring.

[Now we will describe several interesting scarabs, about whose period there is no doubt. They are of the glorious XII<sup>TH</sup> and XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES, the golden age of Egypt.]

215. AMENEMHAT I, XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY (2778-2748 B.C.). This is, strictly speaking, not a scarab but an amulet, if not a royal signet, or perhaps used for both. The inscription is clearly cut in bold characters, the throne-name or prenomen  SE. HOTEF. AB. RA, with  *nefer* added for some reason. On the other side is a well executed engraving of the "strong bull," which was the usual kingly attribute of power and strength, with  *ankh* in front and  below the head. A colossal portrait of this king was found at Tanis, which shows a pleasing expression of counten-



beyond its boundaries. He must have been a good ruler,



USERTESEN I.  
*From Abydos.*

for his Vizier at Beni Hasan records "that there was not a hungry man in the land" during his reign, "and when years of famine came, he made the people live." This is the tale of his viceroy, and it is like what Lord Cromer's men have been doing in the "low Nile" of last year. The obelisk at Heliopolis erected by this king is the oldest monument of that kind in the world. The original of the portrait can

be seen at University College, London; it is beautifully sculptured on fine limestone.

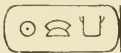
344. (Plate XIV), USERTESEN II (☉ ☰ ☱) Throne name

KHA · KHEPER · RA (2684-2660, B.C.). Of this king I possess a cylinder, which is remarkable as showing two royal cartouches of different sovereigns, as will be described below. Dr. Petrie discovered his pyramid at Illahun, in the Fayum. This king was so proud of the development of the new province, that he had his tomb placed there. His works were extensive, and re-



PECTORAL OF USERTESEN II.  
*Found at Dahshur.*

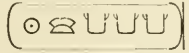
cords of them exist at Tanis, Beni Hasan, Assouan, and elsewhere. A statue of his Queen, NEFERT, was found at Tanis.

218. USERTESSEN III, XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY (2660-2622, B.C.). This scarab bears the king's throne title, abbreviated () *Kha.kau.ra*. This king was buried at Dahshûr, where De Morgan identified his pyramid. Though only now a shapeless heap of ruined unburnt brick, it had at one time



USERTESSEN III. Pectoral of Gold and Precious Stones.

been plated with white polished stone. The royal family were buried within its enclosure, and here De Morgan found, in the tomb of a princess, a wooden box containing jewellery. Another treasure was found near it, the two being of the value of £70,000. These had escaped the attentions of ancient plunderers. The princess had been daughter of USERTESSEN II and sister of USERTESSEN III.

513. Of USERTESSEN III I have a cylinder-seal which still gives an excellent impression and bears both his cartouches, throne name () in full, *Kha.kau.ra*, and also his family name () USERTESSEN. It is well cut and in perfect preservation (Plate XVI), and is quite a unique memorial of a great king.



344. Bears the cartouche of AMENEMHAT III (2622-2578 B.C.), (Plate XVI), with his throne name MAAT·EN·RA in full

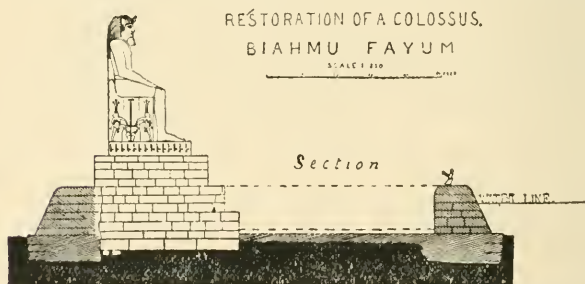


as well as the cartouche of his grandfather USERTESIN II. It was possibly a royal sign manual for the Fayum province, in which these two kings took a great interest, and had their royal pyramid



PORTRAIT OF AMENEMHAT III.

tombs both placed there, at Hawara and Illahun. As will be seen on Plate XVI, this remarkable seal makes a perfect impression, despite its known antiquity. The portrait of Amenemhat III is subjoined. AMENEMHAT seems to have



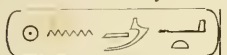
DR. PETRIE'S RESTORATION OF ONE OF THE COLOSSAL STATUES OF AMENEMHAT III.

completed the reclamation and the irrigation works of Lake Moeris, and the fertile Fayum province, which excited the admiration of HERODOTUS, two thousand years after his time. Dr. Petrie's published discoveries at Hawara and Illahun, and Major Brown's fine work on the *Fayum of To-day* (Stanford, publisher), give most interesting descriptions of this curious oasis, and its ancient and modern wonders.

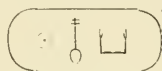


220. SEBEK · HOTEPI I, XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY (about 2460 B.C.),

is a scarab of a king about whom little is known, though his works have been found at Bubastis, and far up the Nile, at Semneh. On the island of Argus, beyond the third cataract, two colossal granite statues of SEBEK · HOTEPI I still exist.

219 is believed to be a royal scarab of KHENZER, the last king of the XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, but the two cartouches are somewhat mysterious. One reads, "EN MAAT RA"

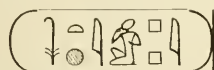
this name is almost the same as the title of Amenemhat III, but the second one shows that it is not his. The other cartouche is



NEFER KA RA. The vultures above the cartouches, the *neb*,

*neb*, *ankh*, and *nefers* around them proclaim the king's

additional title. He must have reigned about 2120 B.C. But about this time Egypt seems to have become weak in military strength; spoiled with wealth, which excited the cupidity of its enemies, it became an easy prey to invasion from Asia, by hordes of nomads or shepherds, called HYKSOS, who seem to have overrun the land, and held it in bondage for several centuries. Manetho supplied names for the XIV–XVII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES, but the kings during this interregnum have not been fully investigated yet. The invaders eventually seem to have adopted the religion and language of the old nation, and scarabs, of undoubted Hyksos rulers, with hieroglyphic inscriptions, are found, but not by any means common. One of these, No. 16, is rather remarkable, viz.:—

16. APEPA. XV<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY (about 1898–1837 B.C.)—

, *royal friend*, APEPA. This is a very peculiar scarab. I got it at Kom-Ombo, which shows that the Hyksos rule extended further south than generally recognized. The characters are rude and the meaning not clear, but it is undoubtedly genuine, a most curious and



had charge of the Pyramids of USER 'N' RA, MEN 'KAU 'HOR, and ASSA. The Egypt Exploration Fund have published two splendid volumes illustrating this fine tomb, one of the best of the period. His son is buried in the same tomb, and the boy's games and sports and studies are all depicted, and an interesting portrait of the youth himself. This Ptahhetep was possibly the author of the celebrated collection of proverbs which bear the name of Ptahhetep.

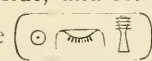


PTAHHETEP'S SON.

278 is an interesting scarab. Its legend reads—

 , "The King's eldest royal son

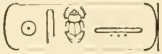
*Nehesi*." He was a prince of the XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. He erected monuments at Tanis and elsewhere, and is spoken of as "a king" at Bubastis. The word "Nehesi" means a black man, but it may be merely a title such as our "Black Prince," who, although the eldest son of a king, was certainly not a nigger in complexion. Only one other scarab of this royal prince is known. The Turin list has a Ra-nehesi in its list of kings of the XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. Some of these days his royal tomb may be discovered, and we shall then know more about him.

225 is evidently another royal scarab awaiting further development. It has  *neb* (lord) at each side, and ostrich feathers as supporters of the central name  NUB · DAD · RA, and Mr. Griffith thinks this is another instance of a

king known only by his scarab, awaiting identification among the early monarchs of old Egypt.

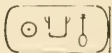
- 227 is the memorial of a great man of his time, HAR, the Chancellor of the Exchequer or treasurer of the kingdom. Other records of this great official, a sort of Lord Salisbury of his time, exist, but his date has not yet been proved. One day Petrie or Mr. Quibell may find his tomb, which will give us the name of his sovereign. Petrie thinks him of XIII<sup>TH</sup>-XIV<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, but time will tell, no doubt. This legend reads. "Sahu bitī mr sahut Har," , "*Treasurer of the King, Chief of the Treasurers, Har,*" and is a very perfect scarab, retaining some of its ancient green colour, with the beetle back beautifully formed.

- 177 is a smaller scarab of the same royal minister, but has the title somewhat varied, , "*The Chancellor, the Chief-sealer Har.*" He had been "Lord Privy Seal" as well!

- 277 is another royal mystery awaiting solution. The inscription reads, , S · KHPR · TA · RA, and is perhaps the signet of a great king as yet unidentified. The scarab is beautifully cut, is in fine state, and possesses its original green colour; it is of steatite.

267. The signet of a princess or a queen, , "*sat seten.*" The beetle side is beautifully cut, but looks of later date than the preceding ones as to its style. The scarab has much of its green colouring, and is in very perfect state.

203. XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. A pretty little scarab of glazed steatite. The cutting of the beetle has a look of great antiquity. It bears in the centre  (compare No. 219, about same date). "*Nefēr Kā,*" with scroll ornament at each side and beneath.

10. XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. Bears much the same symbols, possibly intended as a monogram of  The scroll work of

spiral is very good. The beetle side is beautifully cut, and retains its green tinting; glazed steatite.

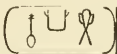
280. XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. The scarab of a princess 

NEFER PTAH. The daughter of AMENEMHAT III, of this name, seems to have died before her father, and was buried in his pyramid in the Fayum. Her alabaster altar and dishes still remain (Cairo Museum), and a block of black granite with her name and titles.

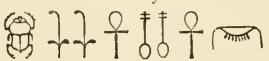
221. XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. Another scarab of a royal princess



NUB HOTE<sup>P</sup>. The tomb of a princess of this name, of XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY, was found at Dahshur, but this looks like XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY work, it is so good, Mr. Griffith thinks. It is as near perfection as possible.

204. XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY  NEFER KA. Another pretty scarab, resembling Nos. 219, 203, 10, etc. All possibly belong to same period, if not to the same king. The spiral scroll ornament came in at this date and was a great feature—the commencement, Dr. Petrie thinks, of the Egyptian decorative period, and beginning of all such ornamental design.

224. The scarab of a princess, NEFERU, of high rank. The inscription is very full, and well cut,  "Nebt per, Neferu, nebt amakh," "The house mistress, Neferu, possessing the reward of devotion." Neferu may be translated, "the most beautiful one." (In Petrie's *Historical Scarabs*, No. 425, there is another scarab of this lady, but with a variation in the inscription.) The whole is surrounded with a very peculiar interlaced scroll border.

- 360 is a XII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY scarab of very fine work; the inscription is well cut. ; possibly an unknown king's name, or that of some great personage yet to be discovered.

The princes of the legitimate line had preserved their liberty in retreat in the south during the hated rule of the

Shepherd-kings, and after centuries of exile burst forth from their hiding places, and drove the invaders from the throne. This was about the close of the XVIIITH DYNASTY, 1500 B.C.

## SCARABS, PLATE II.

Once the hated Hyksos rule was overthrown, the old faith and old *régime* were at length fully restored under the powerful rule of AAHMES; the whole of Egypt seemed to break into a new life under the great XVIIIITH DYNASTY. The greatest works at Thebes date from this epoch, when the old kings seemed to arise from their tombs, to see their own race again predominant.

229. AAHMES I, XVIIIITH DYNASTY, 1587-1562 B.C. 



QUEEN AAHMES NEFERTARI.

The scarab has three signs, which stand for his throne name of NEB · PEHTI · RA, while his family name was known by

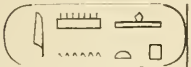
. This king

was greatly revered both in life and after death for nearly a thousand years. His wife was named NEFERTARI, and was worshipped along with him. She was a royal princess by birth also. The mummies of AAHMES and NEFERTARI are preserved in the Cairo Museum. Of all Egyptian queens held in honour, QUEEN AAHMES NEFERTARI was venerated the most. The scarabs of AAHMES has its original green glaze, and is as perfect a when made. The beetle is beautifully cut.

315. AMENHOTEP I was son of the above celebrated pair (1562-1541 B.C.). This "scarab," instead of the usual beetle, has a hawk-headed lion on the reverse, with 



ankh, "*life*" above. The inscription is his family name

in full  AMENHOTEP. The most beauti-

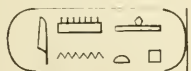
ful temples at Thebes were built by him. His mummy and coffin are preserved in the Cairo Museum, but his magnificent tomb has not yet been found, though some energetic *savants* think they know where it is, and may find it any day when allowed to search. An ancient "inspection" of it exists. It had an entrance 200 feet long. The examination was made by a great official, Paser, in



AMENHOTEP I.

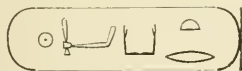
the time of Rameses II. Strange to say, I have the seal of this great man (No. 255). The mummy of Amenhotep has never been unrolled. The garlands of flowers and wreaths lie on his body yet, as they were deposited by faithful mourners 3440 years ago! I have other scarabs of this good king.

32. AMENHOTEP I. A plaque with the head of HATHOR in relief, and on the other side the family name



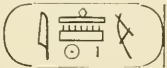
Amenhotep. It is as perfect, with its bright green glaze, as when engraved, and the head of the Egyptian Venus is well modelled.

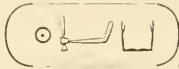
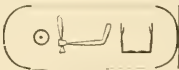
480. AMENHOTEP I. This relic is only half of an amulet, which had the two cartouches, but one is perfect



ZESER · KA · RA, his throne name, with plumes of feathers for a crest above.

232. AMENHOTEP I. A blue-green scarab, with a fanciful

arrangement of the name  .

372. AMENHOTEP I, is a fine scarab, brilliant green tint, and with the beetle well cut. It has the name of the king repeated many times, and with  and , NEFER and NETER. "The good lord Amenhotep," showing how the kings were the object of worship.
228. AMENHOTEP I continued within a scroll border; we find some curious signs preceding "... NHETEP." The border shows a return to the ornament of a previous period. The beetle is beautifully cut, green colour preserved, steatite.
257. AMEN · MERT. The scarab of a princess-queen of early XVIIIth DYNASTY. One of the most beautiful in the collection; colour bluish-green, well cut inscription: within ancient style scroll border , "The great royal wife, AMENMERT." Some day we will find whose queen she was.
231. AMENHOTEP I. Being a cylinder, has to appear on Plate XVI, but may be mentioned here. It is a very beautiful piece, brilliant green in tint, and well cut. On the flat portion there is a peculiar scroll ornament. On the curved part the inscription is  and the king's royal title  ZESER · KA · RA, with the addition of  *dad*, stability, &c.
373. (Plate XVI) is another cylinder of AMENHOTEP I, and also very fine. Prenomen  ZESER · KA · RA, with  *neter nefer*; the whole translates, "Sacred is the Ka of Ra, the good god," repeated with ornamental detail.
406. THOTHMES I, XVIIIth DYNASTY (1541-1516 B.C.), son of AMENHOTEP I. This scarab is in a fine preservation and well cut. The king's cartouche in centre  THOTHMES, on one side, the figure of a bull on the other,
- (To be continued.)

NOTES: (1)  AND . (2) THE DEMONSTRATIVE  AND ITS DERIVATIVES.

BY ALAN H. GARDINER.

The following notes are the sequel of an article on "The relative adjective ,

They are intended to deal with some outstanding points, and to suggest certain modifications of my theory in accordance with parallel expressions in the Semitic languages.

(1)  *iwti*\* is an adjective derived from  "not."

Its meaning would therefore naturally be "as to which not . . .," the clumsy English paraphrase being of course due to the non-existence of an exact equivalent in English. In accordance with this meaning the word is usually followed by a sentence expressing the qualification to be denied of the substantive to which it refers. *E.g.*,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              

secondly, the suffix would be redundant, since  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ , on his view, already connoted possession; the suffix in relative sentences not being in any way parallel. In its further development,  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  stands before verbal clauses =  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}} \frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ . And finally, it is used absolutely, often in parallelism with  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ , with "he exists" to be understood, for "the non-existent" as opposed to "the existent." From the parallelism of  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  with  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ , it follows (a) that  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  is an adjective derived from  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ : (b) that  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  does not in itself simply imply "existence," as might perhaps be inferred from the Arabic equivalents  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  and  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ : (c) nor does  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  necessarily mean "possessing."

(2) In the postscript to my previous article, I suggested that the preposition  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  "to" "for" might be derived from a demonstrative root  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ . In support of this thesis I shall now try to show (a) that a demonstrative  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  indubitably existed, (b) that  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  "to" or "for"  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  "of" and  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  the relative word could plausibly be derived from it.

(a) As before stated,  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ ,  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ ,  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ ,  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$  and  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ , leaving aside the more dubious  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ ,  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ , and  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ , point clearly to a demonstrative element  $\frac{\text{𐤀𐤃𐤁}}{\text{𐤀𐤃}}$ . It is also to be found in the Semitic tongue, as is shown in the following quotation.\*

"Die nächste Schwester des Arabischen, des Sabäische, drückt den Artikel durch ein suffigiertes *n* aus . . . von dem eben genaunten determinierenden *n* zeigt das Arabische und das Hebräische keine sichere Spur; das Sabäische, Äthiopische, und wiederum das Aramäische benützen es zur Verstärkung von Demonstrativpronomina; und nun hat sich in einer phönicischen Inschrift ganz dieselbe Wendung gefunden."

At present, when Egyptian and Semitic are so well proved to have been connected, there can be no reason for doubting that this demonstrative *n*, found in both, is a common heritage from the

\* NOLDEKE, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed., 1899, p. 15.

mother-tongue. The second usage quoted by NOLDEKE is remarkably similar to one found in Egyptian. The Phoenician (*e.g.*)  $\text{𐤍}$  is precisely parallel in its formation to the Egyptian  $\square$  ;  $\text{𐤍}$  is derived from  $\text{𐤎}$ ,  $\text{𐤏}$  by the addition of a demonstrative  $n$  :  $\square$  is likewise derived from  $\square$  by the addition of a demonstrative  $\text{𐤎}$ . Unless a common model, now lost, once existed in "Ursemitisch," or one of these words was itself the model for the other, or finally, the resemblance be a mere coincidence—and there is nothing to favour these suppositions—the strikingly parallel formation is a significant proof how deep the Semitic idiom struck its roots in Egyptian.  $\text{𐤎}$  may now be accepted as having possessed a demonstrative meaning in Egyptian, at least in compounds, and it is perhaps not too much to assume that it once existed independently.

(*b*)  $\text{𐤍}$ , already mentioned as giving rise to the word  $\text{𐤍}$ , further shows in its derivatives a strikingly parallel development to  $\text{𐤎}$  and its derivatives if we suppose  $\text{𐤍}$  and  $\text{𐤎}$  to have originated in a demonstrative  $\text{𐤎}$ . In Aramaic  $\text{ܕ}$  (=  $\text{𐤍}$  "this") is commonly used between two substantives to express the genitive relation. The origin of this usage seems clear. "This" before a coming qualification, anticipates it and lays stress upon it. An analogous tendency may perhaps be found in modern languages. In "this house of his" "ce canaille de D . . ." the force of the demonstrative is restricted to an anticipation of the following nearer definition, but it links the qualified and the qualification closely together.  $\text{ذو}$  in Arabic, also etymologically equivalent to  $\text{𐤍}$ , comes actually to mean "the possessor," "lord of," followed by the genitive case. On the other hand, the Hebrew  $\text{הוא}$ \*, the Aramaic  $\text{ܕ}$ , and the Arabic  $\text{ذو}$  are all used to introduce relative sentences. To turn to Egyptian,  $\text{𐤎}$  and  $\text{𐤎}$ , as was shown in my previous article, are certainly connected, and from the point of view of etymology, though not of usage, equivalent to one another. The one introduces the genitive, like  $\text{𐤍}$ ,  $\text{ذو}$ , the other introduces the relative clause, like  $\text{𐤍}$ ,  $\text{ذو}$ . And just as, in both cases, the Semitic words may be referred to a demonstrative root, so may, as has just been seen, the

\* Admittedly the equivalent of  $\text{𐤍}$ .

Egyptian words be traced to the demonstrative . The triple coincidence is so remarkable that I can scarcely doubt that the two series of words are really parallel. On the other hand, it may be objected (*a*) that the demonstrative  is not found independently, and (*b*) that the preposition  "to" or "for" is not accounted for in this theory. To these arguments it may be answered (*a*) that at least a reduplicated form  is found, and that Egyptian is rich enough already in demonstratives, so that it might well lose , or rather, as we shall see, apply it to another use. (*b*) The second objection is far more weighty. On the one hand  "to" or "for" seems quite obviously related, both in sense and form, to  and . These, on the other hand, have just been referred to a demonstrative . Thus we are driven to identify the preposition  with the demonstrative . A difficulty here presents itself, since no parallel can be adduced to favour the derivation of a preposition from a demonstrative. Perhaps however this difficulty is not insuperable. It should be noted that most Egyptian prepositions are easy to explain.  arises from , "mouth,"  "upon," from  "head," and so on.  is possibly the equivalent of , .  stands alone in suggesting no easy explanation. Hence we are entitled to look for one a little further afield. Now assuming the derivation  from a demonstrative , the peculiar force of the demonstrative causes the adjective , originally = "that," to acquire the meaning "belonging to." Subtracting the meaning of the adjectival ending, we have for  the sense "to." A Rabbinic parallel brings out the point.  has acquired the sense , in which equation  equals, in usage, .  accordingly is equal to . Hence the demonstrative  can have come to bear the meaning "to" or "for." Henceforward  was a preposition. As such, it is easy to understand how it ousted  as a demonstrative. It arose from it and took its place.

If the view of the origin of , , , set forth in detail



above, be received, the theory as to the origin of  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  put forth in my earlier article will have to be slightly modified. The construction of  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  will indeed still have to be explained by reference to that of  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ , but both will be due to the peculiar demonstrative force which has been illustrated from the Semitic languages. The clause with  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  will no longer be explained as itself a defining genitive, but as *analogous* to the defining genitive, the point of comparison lying in the origin of both in a demonstrative. Thus  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  will be far less of an anomaly from a linguistic point of view, than my theory, in its unmodified form, seemed to imply. In fact it will be parallel in all respects to the relative clause with  $\text{𐤀}$ ,  $\text{𐤁}$  and  $\text{𐤂}$ .

It seems scarcely possible to find support for the above arguments by the comparison of  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  with the "later absolute pronouns"  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ ,  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$  and their Semitic analogues, except after submitting the latter to a rigorous analysis. Nevertheless, one salient point deserves to be mentioned. DR. SETHE has found a parallelism in the uses of  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  and  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ ,  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ , etc. The similar appearance of some of these forms immediately suggests, that there may further be an etymological connection between them. On the other side, the Semitic analogues of  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ ,  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta}$ , etc., contain, like these, an *n* which PROF. WRIGHT, though not without hesitation, states to be demonstrative. The combination of these views is distinctly in favour of the presence of a demonstrative element  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$  in the relative word  $\overset{\sim}{\Delta} \backslash \backslash$ .



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, 12th December, 1900, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

F. J. LEGGE: "The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri."

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VOL. XXII. THIRTIETH SESSION.

*Seventh Meeting, December 12th, 1900.*

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THIRTIETH SESSION, 1900.

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*Seventh Meeting, 12th December, 1900.*

JOSEPH POLLARD, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

---

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author : Ignazio Guidi. Il testo Copto del Testamento di Abramo, il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe (testo Copto). Roma. 1900. 8vo.

Extract, *R. Acad. dei Lincei*.

From the Author :—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Della stela del Foro e della sua Iscrizione Arcaica. *Civiltà Cattolica*. November, 1900.

From Edward S. M. Perowne :—Bulletins, XII<sup>me</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes. Rome. 1899.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting in January, 1901 :—

Herbert Sefton Jones, Kazarma, Walpole Road, Croydon.

Rev. C. Drayton Thomas, Toddington, Dunstable.

G. A. Wainwright, 3, Worcester Avenue, Clifton, Bristol.

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The following Candidate, having been nominated in November, was submitted for election, and elected a Member of the Society :—

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The following Paper was read :—

F. LEGGE, ESQ.: "The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri."

---

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Mr. W. St. C. Boscawen, Mr. E. Towry Whyte, Mr. Legge, and the Chairman.

---

THE WISDOM OF THE CHALDEANS: AN OLD HEBREW  
ASTROLOGICAL TEXT.

By M. GASTER.

Among other papers and MSS. obtained some years ago from old Nisibis in Mesopotamia, came also a number of half obliterated and badly damaged leaves of a MS. which at close examination revealed itself to be a collection of magical formulas and recipes, written in many old Oriental hands. With the new discovery of ancient Texts in the Genizah, our notions of Hebrew palæography are undergoing a complete change. It is now much more difficult to fix the age of a MS. only from the handwriting. It has been found that a form hitherto considered to be of a comparatively modern origin may after all be centuries older than anticipated. Still I would consider the writing of the principal part of this MS., reconstructed after long and painstaking trouble, not to be later than the XIVth century. The lower part of many a page has become illegible in consequence of dampness and age. The date of the writing is however not identical with that of the composition of the MS. It suffices to remember that the oldest Hebrew magical book known and lost one thousand years ago has been rediscovered by me in this very MS. From it I published the famous "Sword of Moses," which I have shown to be of the second or third century, standing in close connection with the magic Papyri and with the old magical books ascribed to Moses in Hellenistic times.

The MS. consists now of sixty-two leaves, a number of which is in a bad state of preservation. Some pages are written in Arabic, though with Hebrew characters, and these, as well as that portion which appears to contain the oldest texts, is written by a bold and careful hand. Other portions are written in a much smaller type, and at times less carefully. In the middle of the XVIth century it was the property of a certain Rahamin, son of R. Samuel Malki or Milki. He tells us (fol. 17b) that "leaving once Egypt for Damascus

he had hidden this book away. On his return no one knew where it had gone to, until he found it in the hands of a young man, from whom he bought it back at the price of seventeen 'grush.' In order that the book should not be purloined for a second time, and his title to it be called into question, he signs his name." He repeats the same statement fol. 22*b*. His writing is totally different from any of the writings of the MS. itself. From these notes, and from the whole character of the contents, as well as from the Arabic portions, it is evident that this collection has its origin in the East.

Among the non-Hebrew words that occur in the charms we find however some that are evidently Spanish. They are called "La'az"; thus, the name of the charm known as that of "the Mirror," "*Mirai*," and the conjuration itself, which is in Spanish. In another place we find the word "purga," in the meaning of purging (fol. 61*a*), also mentioned as "La'az." On the other hand, at least one of the mystical names invoked on some occasions seems to be merely the transliteration of Greek words, "megas Totma Tot." If all the mystical names in this Thesaurus of charms, numbering close upon four hundred in all, would be examined, many more will prove to be of an exotic character, grown on the field of that syncretism of Gnostic speculation and Egypto-chaldean incantations. In one place we find "Abraxel"; in another "The Paraclet" is invoked. The compiler has collected his materials from various sources, of which some are mentioned. The fact that a few Spanish words occur, proves that these have been brought back to the East from Spain, where the knowledge of mystical literature had existed from very early times. The authorities quoted by the compiler are: R. Jehudah Ḥasid (*ca.* 1200), fol. 13*a*, 14*b*, 61*a*; "The great Rabbi Eliezer, of Qarmisha or Garmisa," *i.e.*, R. Eleazar, of Worms (XIIIth century), fol. 6*b*, and his "Commentary to Genesis," fol. 10*a*; R. Aharon (fol. 13*a*), probably the famous Aharon of Babylon, possessor of mystical knowledge and of the wonder-working Name of God in the ninth century, as told in the Chronicle of Aḥima'as, written 1055 (*v.* Neubauer, *Mediaeval Chronicles*, II, p. 112 ff.); "Nahmanides," fol. 13*b*, 23*b*, 48*b*; "R. Samuel ibn Tibbon, in the name of R. 'Ezra," f. 47*b*; "R. Samuel in the name of R. 'Azriel" (the last two the well-known initiators of Nahmanides into the mysteries of the Qabbala), fol. 46*a*. Another R. Samuel, fol. 42*a*, 42*b*, 45*b*. "A treatise of Sa'adya Gaon," fol. 56*a*.

Besides these more or less historical personages there are others less well known or mythical persons. The Patriarchs mentioned are Moses, Elijah, and Elisha, further the cup of "Ezra the priest," fol. 53<sup>b</sup>. The charm communicated to the author by R. "mark the Rabbi,!" "Joseph the Shidda, nephew of the demon Samhoris," fol. 43<sup>b</sup>. (He is quoted also in the Talmud as communicating such knowledge to a certain R. Joseph, Treatise Pesahem, 110<sup>a</sup>, Erubin 43<sup>a</sup>; "R. Jequiel," fol. 46<sup>a</sup>; "Menachem, the son-in-law of R. Baruch fol. 35<sup>b</sup>; "R. Eli'ezer the Sephardi," who is called "הרב הגאון" fol. 23<sup>a</sup>; R. Meshullam Šarfati, fol. 45<sup>b</sup>; R. Isaac Šarfati, fol. 50<sup>a</sup>; probably the Blind, one of the first enunciators of the modern Qabbala in the south of France, XIIth century. A certain "R. Dan," otherwise unknown, fol. 60<sup>b</sup>; Samuel Ladib, fol. 60<sup>b</sup>; (perhaps Latif). The mythical "R. Joseph de la Reyna" (of whom the legend exists that he had succeeded to chain the demon Samael) fol. 10<sup>b</sup>. Last, but not least, Rab Rehimai, fol. 18<sup>a</sup>, mentioned also in the Zohar. He is evidently identical with the scholar whose name is spelt Rḥumi, Rehimai, Riḥumi, etc. (v. Neubaeuer Chronicles, s.v. in the index), who lived 456 B.C. The great persecution under the Persian dynasty began in his time, and he is the last author connected with the compilation of the Talmud. No writing of his has come down to us, but a short treatise is ascribed to him in our MS. on the mystical name of God. I dwell on this name because I see in it the key to the mysterious "R. Ḥamai" or "Ḥamai Gaon," to whom many mystical treatises are ascribed, but who is otherwise absolutely unknown. This name is probably due to a wrong reading of "Rehimai," taking the first letter R, not as the initial letter of the name, but as the abbreviation of the title "Rabbi," which stands before almost every old name of a scholar. Who "R. Tabshulim the prophet" may be, quoted f. 40<sup>b</sup>, is more than I know at present.

Besides these authors, anonymous books are also mentioned, from which the compiler had drawn his materials. In the first place, he often quotes the "Shushan Sodoth." There is a book in existence with a similar title ascribed to Moses ben Jacob (ed. Korzec, 1784) full of mystical speculations and interpretations of the prayers and of liturgical ceremonies. It has, however, nothing in common with the contents of our MS. Not a single charm or incantation is found among those speculations. A book of charms with such a title must have existed, however, for not only is it quoted here, but

abstracts from that very book are given in many a MS. in my possession, all similar in character to this MS. (*cf.* my codd., Nos. 186, 265, etc.). Another work mentioned is the "Midrash of Simon the Ṣaddiq" (fol. 4*a*); "Another old book" (fol. 19*b*); "Other books" (fol. 15*b*); "Speakers of truth" (fol. 20*a*); "Other Qabbalists"; and so on. In one instance, when copying a text incomplete at the beginning, the copyist remarks: "I have found it only from here onward," showing the care with which he copied his texts. One of the recipes has the note appended "tried in שופיא (Sophia)," (fol. 50*a*). I am doubtful, however, as to the reading of the name. It must be a place somewhere in Asia Minor or Spain, and cannot be identical with "Sofia" of Bulgaria.

It is remarkable that we find the greater number of these very names of authors, and especially the less well-known, and the anonymous works such as the "Midrash of R. Simon the Saddiq, very often quoted in the commentary to the Book Yeṣira of Moses Bottarillo. He wrote that commentary in Spain in the year 1409. The writings and authors mentioned by Bottarillo (*vide* the whole list in Steinschneider, Cat. Bodl. sv., col. 1781-1784) have been declared by Zunz and others to have been invented by him only and solely because they did not find them mentioned elsewhere. Our MS. corroborates now the veracity of the quotations of Bottarillo; but whilst the latter limits his references to mystical speculations and qabbalistic interpretations which he gives in their names, the present MS. contains in their names charms, incantations and other mystical portions of practical Qabbala. I do not discuss the question whether those writings are genuine, or whether they have been wrongly attributed to these men, but we can no longer doubt the fact that these—genuine or pseudo-epigraphical—writings existed latest, in the XIVth century in Spain, if not before that date. Among the "Tossafists" to the Pentateuch of the XIIIth and XIVth century printed in "Hadar Zeqenim," ed. Livorno, 1840, we find also some of these very names. Considering now that many of these men are not by any means known as such brilliant scholars, that works not written by them should have been ascribed to them with the intention of enhancing their value, nay, some being only known by these quotations of Bottarillo, I see no reason to doubt their genuineness.

This MS. is written by at least two or three almost contemporary hands. The ink is mostly the same, only the character of the writing



differs considerably between what I would call the first old hand, especially noticeable in fols. 18-26, and the second. The actual compilation begins with fol. 5, and has as title "Segulloth." The numbering of the charms begins from here. On the preceding pages are Arabic (fols. 1-3) and later Hebrew recipes (fol. 4a). The numbering refers only to the remedies or charms. As the text is written in places very closely, the man who added the numbers has in consequence often missed one or two in the middle of the text. The true number would be nearer 400 charms. All the speculative portions unsuited for practical purposes are not included in the counting. The MS. being a compilation from different sources, it not seldom happens that the same charm is found twice and even three times. The copyist merely transcribed whatever he found without much critical discrimination. This fact strengthens further the belief in the truthfulness of the copyist.

Among these charms, recipes, incantations and mystical prayers, we find now in that very part of the MS. which is written by the old hand, a text of an astrological character ascribed to the Chaldeans. This text is very striking from more than one point of view. In itself, it is a complete compendium of the astrological character of the Powers that rule in the course of the week. Each day is described, and its ruler or rulers. The image of that regent is delineated; the mode of drawing him is indicated, and instructions are given how to make use magically of the image thus drawn, and of the formulas which accompany these magic operations. We are told to what profit this knowledge can be turned, the good and evil that can be performed by means of these divine images; we even learn the nature of the mysterious sigils or seals of these regents.

The revelation of these mysteries is ascribed in the first place to "Raziel," the angel, and then to the "primitive Enoch." Enoch as revealer of heavenly mysteries, and as the scribe who writes a book on the heavenly economy and hierarchy, is known from the old apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical literature. The Book of Enoch, in its double or triple form: Greek, Slavonic, and Hebrew fragments, is too well known that I should dilate here at any length on it. I refer specially to chapter xliii, ed. Charles, and still more to the Hebrew fragments of the astrological book of Enoch (v. Jellinek, *Bethhamidrasch V*, p. 173 ff.). Of greater value is the fact that Enoch is beholding and describing the mysteries of the heavens in

the Zohar, where his book is quoted, and in one passage he is also brought into intimate connection with the angel Raziel (I. fol. 55*b*. cf. fol. 37*b*.). To him and through him the astronomical mysteries of the world are said there to have been communicated to Adam, Noah, Abraham, etc. It is the same tradition as that of our text, but with this noteworthy difference, that the knowledge is not communicated here to Abraham, but to the Chaldeans, who had speculated on the heavenly bodies, on their movements, and on the rulers who guide them. The essentially Jewish feature in the other tradition is clearly missing here. Much more important is, that in this piece alone out of the hundreds gathered in this compilation, the name of God is never mentioned, and that not one single citation is made of a Biblical text, nor is a single verse of the Bible alluded to. As a rule the basis or the efficacious portion of a charm consists either in the permutation of the letters of such biblical verses, or in their unchanged application. Here not a single trace is to be found.

The text is described as "the wisdom of the Chaldeans." References to Chaldean astronomy are extremely rare in Hebrew writings. We find them referred to, however, in what is considered to be the oldest astronomical book; I allude to the so-called Barayta of R. Samuel. The date of its composition has not yet been definitely established. Internal indications would place the final redaction in the eighth century. It is probably older, at least in some of its astrological portions.

Chapter IX of the Barayta is devoted to the interpretation of the astrological importance of the seven planets. Each one is minutely described in its ruling over human or other natural occurrences. To begin with Sabbetai, "Saturn," which is mentioned first, "he rules over poverty, misery, illness, sickness and destruction; over internal ailments, and over sin." In this fragmentary text, which belongs to the same category as our MS., no allusion is found either to the personal appearance of the planets viewed as heavenly bodies, nor are the ruling Powers or angels mentioned by name who move and guide the planets, and are the direct cause of the influence which they are said to exercise over human destiny. The text is evidently mutilated, as shown in my study on the version discovered and published by me in the "Chronicles of Jerahmeel." In this work we find a corporeal description of the planets, together with that of the influence which they exercise. The list begins (*ibid.*, chap. iv, parag. 5, p. 12 ff) also with Saturn. "He is appointed over the

poor and needy, over women, over faintness and sickness, diseases of the body, and death. His appearance is like that of an old man with a sickle in his hand." We have thus here the description of the physical aspect of the planet.

The knowledge of these planets and their influence is much older in Hebrew literature. In the introduction (*Jeraḥmeel*, p. lxi) I referred to the book *Yeṣira* (chap. iv, § 5 ff.), where the creation of the seven planets is explained in harmony with the fundamental theory of the "Book of Creation," viz., with the creation through the "Logos"—the spoken word, and how this operation was carried out in detail by the effects produced by each of the separate letters of the Alphabet. In the commentary to this book by Sabbatai Donolo, who lived in the year 913, in Italy, a detailed list of the manifold influences which are exercised by these seven planets is given. The order of the planets begins also with *Sabbatai* in the Book *Yeṣira*. It is said to have been created on the first day of the week. The author must have commenced his week with the Sabbath, and his order of the creation appears to be directly contradicting the biblical order of creation. The *Barayta* of Samuel and *Jeraḥmeel* agree in this essential element with the Book *Yeṣira*. Either one is dependent on the other or both have borrowed from an older source. This latter hypothesis seems to be the more correct one. The author of the commentary to the same chapter of the Book *Yeṣira*, which goes under the name of Abraham ben David, knows the same tradition of the astrological influence of the seven planets, and he gives the fullest description, tallying in the main with that of the *Barayta*, *Jeraḥmeel* and *Donnolo*. But in none of these occur the ruling angels.

In the commentary of Jehuda ben Barzillai of Barcelona, who lived at the beginning of the XIIth century (ed. Halberstamm, p. 247), in connection with the selfsame chapter of the Book *Yeṣira*, occurs then a list of angels who rule over the seven planets. This list is absolutely identical with that of the rulers of the planets according to the Chaldean wisdom of our MS. We read there:—"These are the planets, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, these are the seven rulers, the foundation of the world, corresponding to the seven hours (here follow a few words which are unintelligible, probably the names of hours). Over them are appointed seven rulers, seven angels, to wit, Raphael the angel of the Sun, 'Anael the angel of Venus, Michael the

angel of Mercury, Gabriel of the Moon, Qaphsiel of Saturn, Šadqiel of Jupiter, and Samael of Mars." With the difference of one name only the same list occurs in the Book Raziel (ed. Amsterdam, fol. 17*a*). Here it is connected with the description of the astrological influence which each of these planets has on human destiny. The latter portion is directly copied from the Barayta of Samuel, following the original almost word for word. There can now be little doubt that the first portion containing the names of the angels, must have belonged originally also to the Barayta, but had been omitted in the mutilated text, preserved in one single MS., which has also since disappeared. The very same list of the seven tutelary angels occurs in our MS. for a second time, fol. 10*b*, where their seals are given.

Nowhere do we find any parallels to the images of these rulers, to their serving angels, or to the use to which they are put in practical magical purposes. The pentacles in the so-called "Key of Solomon" resemble these drawings only remotely. In some ancient calendars pictures of the seven planets are found, but they are reminiscences of Greek and Roman mythology. Mercury is drawn with the Caduceus, Saturn as an old man with a sickle, and so forth. More like those of our text are the drawings and pictures in the "Hoellenzwang" of Faust, ed. Schaible.

We must ascend to a much older tradition in order to trace the possible origin of this text. It pretends to be the exposition of the wisdom of the Chaldeans, and save for the Hebrew names of the angels, there is nothing specific Jewish in this text. The old Gnosis claimed Chaldean origin for its magical part. The Ophites especially utilised the old Chaldean astronomical and astrological notions for taumaturgical purposes. They drew the images of the Archons who ruled the seven planets. (v. W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, Lpzg., 1897, p. 9 ff., and A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 44 ff.) Amulets with such images, and gems with similar incisions are the visible result of that symbolism, adopted and adapted according to their views by other Gnostic systems, such as that of Valentin, Basilides with his Hebdomas, and even Bardesanes, whose treatise "On the influence of the planets on the temperaments of nations" has been discovered and published by Cureton. Not without significance is the total omission of any allusion to the signs of the Zodiac, with which the planets have been invariably associated in all other astrological calculations.

In this text none of the extravagant interpretations or mystical applications of the seven planets are mentioned in connection with human salvation or with the soul before and after death, in fact none of the eschatological teachings of the Gnostic schools. It is all quite simple; prominence is given to the magical powers alone inherent in the character of the angels drawn on tablets or on parchment, and in the invocations accompanying the operation. In how far this is due to Chaldean teaching or tradition pure and simple I am not in a position to state. A certain change from those Chaldean originals must at any rate have taken place. New names of angels have been substituted, all purely Hebrew, for the strange gods if taken over in their primitive form. But this change is quite natural, and in harmony with the tendencies of that very age, and but for it, the text itself might never have existed or would never have been preserved at all. The names of the angels are very transparent and offer few difficulties to the philologist. They have not yet assumed that curious and weird appearance as found in the Sword of Moses, in the Hebrew Hechaloth, in the Book Raziel, and in later magical writings and Amulets. They resemble the ancient forms and names known in Hebrew liturgy and liturgical poetry. A list of these has been compiled by Zunz (*Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, p. 476-479). They occur also in most of the older qabbalistic collections (*cf.* the list of angels prepared by Mr. M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angéologie*, Paris, 1897), differing by their simplicity from the complex and abstruse forms met with in the other works excerpted by Mr. Schwab.

It is curious to note, and a proof for the syncretistic origin of this text, that in one case the angel is described in the form of a woman. The influence of the notion that the regent of the sixth day is Venus, has been so strong as to cause the author to accept female angels in the heavenly hierarchy. It is a very strong proof for the non-Jewish origin of this text, as the conception of a female angel is contrary to Jewish notions.

One extremely interesting point in connection with the archaic character of this text is the clue it gives to a metaphorical expression often used in qabbalistic writings, but seldom clearly expressed. It is often stated that God, or the name of God, or of any of the chief powers is included in, and identical with, that of his serving or ministering angels. Save for the few exceptions where the one is bodily intercalated into the other, this expression has



remained anything but clear. In our text the very same expression occurs. To each one of the chief angels of the day a number of angels is added as serving. If we now examine these names we shall find that the first letters of the serving angels are the very letters of the name of the chief ruler. They form an anagram of his name, and it is truly said that his name was included in theirs and their names in his.

The ruling powers of the day are angels, they are strictly separated from the planets, and not identified with them at all. The planets are mentioned only to indicate the propitious hour for the writing of the amulets.

The reference to Enoch, identified from ancient times with Hermes, would make this treatise belong to the interminable list of "Hermetic" writings. I consider it to be a reflex of the old Chaldeo-gnostic school which flourished so long in Palestine, and to belong in its primitive form to the third century. The author of the "Book of Creation," as shown in my study on the "Shiur Komah," and the author of the "Barayta" in its fuller recension, must have drawn their astrological information from a similar source of which our text formed a part. In later times the magical portions may have been allowed to drop out, as not quite in harmony with the teaching of Judaism. They have been relegated to the domain of mysticism, which has preserved and protected many a doubtful product of ancient times.

The language of the text is throughout pure Hebrew. In a few instances I think I can detect Arabic influence such as סבין for סבין. The *Scriptio plena*; the form קלם בתול—a new masculine formation altogether—the use of שום and other peculiarities go to prove the antiquity of the language. I do not pretend, however, to have said the last word on this "Chaldean Wisdom."

### *Translation.*

#### THE WISDOM OF THE CHALDEANS.

This is the book used by the Chaldeans (which they composed) through their meditations and speculations in divine wisdom, and through the overflow of the spirit of prophecy upon them, by their strong adherence to their wisdom and to their meditations in the divine wisdom and their speculations concerning the spheres (planets)



and the spirits that rule those spheres and move them. For in each sphere there is an angel that moves it. They investigated the nature of those angels and they found that they all partake of one nature, but that each one of them changes its nature in accordance with the changes in the appearance of the beings of the world. They further investigated whether each angel was fulfilling his message in person, and they found that the angels had servants who fulfilled those messages (tasks). And as the wisdom of man is greater than that of any other living being, they further investigated every subject, and they discovered the ways in which they could be used (or: discovered the things over which the angels were appointed). And from the time they used them, they (the Chaldeans) rejoiced mightily and they continued to search and to enquire, and they performed many deeds, and they wrote those books, and they made many books, but their successors did not understand how to study them until "Raziel" came and revealed the mysteries, and after him came the primitive Henoch. From that time on this science spread all over the world: some understood it, others did not understand it. I pored over many books, and this is what I have gleaned concerning the seven angels of the week, and concerning the hours and their figures, and their position, and their use, and the manner in which one could make them serve one's purposes, and wherefore they are called by such names. These names are evolved out of the names of the rulers, as thou shalt see anon.\*

II. The names are written over the heads of each of the angels for the different days. On the first day rules Raphael. His figure is like that of a man sitting on a throne with hands and feet outstretched. On his right hand serves Raḥabiel, on his left Phaniel, over his head Ariel, under his feet Lahabiel. Their use (work) is to cure all manner of disease, to preserve man from all wicked Shiddim and from all evil spirits which cause illness to man. If thou wishest to heal a man from enchantment, or from an evil spirit, or from folly ("madness"), or from any of the things mentioned, then draw the picture of a man on virgin parchment with both hands outstretched, under the right hand draw the image of a little man, and write on his shoulder Ariel; at his feet draw the image of another man, but draw it with red ink, for this is an angel appointed over fire, and write on

\* This passage corrupt in the original.

his shoulder (or, variant, on his forehead) Lahabiel, and under them the following conjuration : I conjure thee, Raphael, thou and thy servants who are called by thy name, and whose name is included in their names, viz., Raḥabiel, Phaniel, Ariel, Lahabiel, in the name of Azbuga, that thou healest so and so from all illness and all hurt and all evil spirit. Amen, Amen, Amen, Sela, Sela, Sela. If thou wishest to protect thyself from all evil, from every hurt and from wild beasts, make a drawing of all these angels on virgin parchment and carry it by thee, and no evil will happen to thee. Similarly, if thou wishest to protect a young babe from an evil spirit and from the host of Maḥalath, write these angels on a tablet of gold in Assyrian writing (Ashuri) and carry it by thee, and thou needs not fear any evil either from (for) a big man or a small child. It is of very great help. On the back of the tablet write the word *Mana*, for this is his sign (Sigil). It must be written during the hour of the Sun, in daytime and not at night. This is proven and sure.

III. On the second day rules Gabriel. This angel is like a man with horns. On each horn there is an angel in the likeness of a man. He also has ministering angels, as has been described above for the angel Raphael. His position is like unto a man with outstretched hands. On his right hand serves Ga'ariel, on his left Kerubiel (var., Berukiel), on the right horn Raḥabibiel, on the left horn Ahariel, and at his foot serves Lahabiel. He helps to strengthen those that are imprisoned, further to conquer whatever it be, that thou wishest to conquer, be it in war or strife or in any other cause. Thou must then draw on a silver tablet the image of this angel as described. He has two horns, and his hands must be stretched out. Under his right arm draw the image of a little man and write on his shoulder Ga'ariel, under his left arm draw the figure of a little man, and write on his shoulder Kerubiel, on the horn (of the right side?)\* Ioel (?) Raḥabibiel, and on the left horn draw the figure of a little man attached to the horn. Write on the forehead or on the shoulder Ioel. On the back of it draw the image of a little man and write on his forehead Ahabiel, at his feet draw the figure of a little man, this is the angel of fire, and write on his shoulder Lahabiel. Carry this by thee and no one will be able to hurt thee from small to great, and thou wilt win in every strife and

\* In the original there is some confusion, Ioel being mentioned twice, and instead of "right side" we find the word "shoulder."

battle. If thou placest this tablet among thy wares thou wilt soon sell them, and if thou writest these names of angels on parchment and carriest them by thee, they will be very good (useful) to thee. They must be written with green (Crocus) ink. On the back of the tablet thou must write . . . . \* for this is his sign (Sigil) and it must be written in the sight of the Moon.

IV. On the third day rules Samael. He is in the likeness of a man with outstretched hands. He has angels that serve him, as the aforesaid two angels, but he has no horns, and their position is as follows: on his right hand serves Sahariel, on his left Maḥariel, behind him Aḥzaniel, and at his feet Lahabiel. Their work is to destroy, to annihilate, to kill and to perform all manner of evil. If thou wishest to be able to cut with a knife or sword better than any other man, make thee an apple of hard iron and write on it: "In the name of Samael and his servants," and make out of it a knife or a sword, and then thou wilt be able to cut whatever thou wishest and much easier than any other man. If thou wishest to win in any battle into which thou art entering, take a tablet of silver or of copper or iron and draw on it the figure of . . . . . , † under his right arm draw the figure of a little man and write on his forehead Sahariel, under his left arm draw the figure of a little man and write on his forehead Maḥariel, behind him draw the figure of a little man and write on his forehead Aḥzaniel, and under his feet draw the figure of a little man and write on his forehead Lahabiel. And make the drawing of a sword (placed) in the hand of the figure called Samael, and on that sword write the names of the following angels: Ḥatkiel, Imiel, Lahabiel and Hashmeriel, and in the other hand a human head which he is intending to cut off (or, in the act of cutting off). On the back of the plate write "Dal Dam," for this is his Sigil. And it must be written in the hour (time) of Maadim (Mars). If thou wishest to destroy a house, a town, a road or a village, write "Samael and his servants," with menstrual blood on the day of Mars on the garment of a hanged man (?), place it in the mouth of a frog and bury it in the room in which no man will dwell, and it will finally be destroyed. Thou must however stop the mouth of the frog with a little wax and write on the wax, "Dal Dam," and thus shalt thou act in every place wherever thou wishest. If thou

\* The Sigil is omitted in the MS.

† Omitted in the original, evidently Samael.

wishest to kill a man, write, "Samael and his servants" on the garment of that person with the blood of a snake and place it in the mouth of a puppy and close the mouth of that dog with red wax, on which thou hast written "Dal Dam," and bury it at the parting (or crossing) of ways. That man is sure to die within sixty days, unless he go away from that place before the end that time.

V. On the fourth day rules Michael. He is like unto a man holding a horn in his hand and his hands are stretched out. On his right hand serves Ma'asael, on his left serves Iahtemiel; on that horn stands an angel called Kokabiel, behind him serves A'albiel, and at his feet Lahabiel. The benefit conferred (obtained) by these angels is to grant knowledge and wisdom to man. If thou wishest to be served by these angels, take a piece of pure (good) silver or lead and draw on it the image of a man with outstretched hands. Draw under his right arm the image of a little man, and write on his shoulder Iahtemiel, over his head draw the figure of a horn, and on that horn the image of a man holding that horn, and write on his forehead or shoulder Kokabiel, and under his feet draw the image of a little man, with red ink, for he is the angel of fire, and write on his forehead, Lahabiel; and this plate is very useful for gaining knowledge and wisdom and understanding. If a woman has difficulties in childbirth, place this tablet on her chest and she will soon be delivered of the child. If a man is ill, place this tablet on him whilst he is asleep. If he sleeps on quietly and does not wake, it is a sign for life, but if he wakes up quickly, know that it is a sign of death. If thou wishest to know whether a man is enchanted (charmed) or not, write the name of Michael and his servants on an egg with saffron (yellow), and place it under the bed on which he sleeps. If on the morning thou breakest it it is boiled \*and there is a drop of blood in it, then it is a sure sign that he is under a spell. If thou wishest to make a child learn more than any other, then wash this tablet on every first night (of the month or week?) with white wine, then take the tablet in the right hand and turning towards sunrise utter the following conjuration: "I conjure thee, Michael, thou and thy servants who are called by thy name and whose name is included in theirs, in the name Ṭamaqashia, that thou givest me a heart to know all that I have been taught, and that I

\* The original is here somewhat doubtful. It may mean: boil it, break it, and find, etc.

continue to learn, to hear and to understand all that I shall be taught in future. Open my heart to study, and my eyes to see, and my hands to write, and my ears to listen." He must then drink of the wine and eat warm (fresh) bread with honey, and he will become wiser than any other man. He must write on the back of the tablet this name *Abg*, which must be done in the hour (time) of Kokab (Mercury).

VI. On the fifth day rules Šadqiel. This angel is in the likeness of a man with two horns, on one of these horns there is the likeness of a man, and he also has serving angels as the aforementioned angels. Their position is as follows. The angel who is in the likeness of man has the hands outstretched; on the right hand serves Šuriel, on the left Dahabiel. He has two horns, and serves Ia'asiel\*; behind him serves (Apar) Aparsiel, and at his feet Lahabiel. These angels grant grace and favour to all those who carry them. If thou wishest to use them, make a tablet of silver or lead, and draw on it the image of a little man, and write on his shoulder Šuriel; draw then under his left hand the image of a little man, and write on his shoulder Dahabiel; then make on his head two horns, on the right horn draw the image of a little man holding fast to it, and write on his shoulder Qedoshiel, similarly do on the left horn, and write on his forehead Ia'asiel. Behind him draw the image of a little man, and write on his forehead Aparsiel, and under his feet a little man, and write on his forehead Lahabiel, written with red ink. The use of this drawing will be that whoever carries it about him will find favour and grace in the eyes of man and prince, and he will obtain all that he wishes. If he happens to fall in with a host of prisoners (or who is taken a prisoner),† he will not be bound (made a slave), and everyone will render homage to him. On the back of the plate write *Izi*, for this is his Sigil. If thou placest this tablet in a place where there are few persons, they quickly will multiply and become numerous, for they will come from every part to live there. If thou wishest to test (?) it, put it among bees and they will multiply and become numerous. Whoever carries it about him, no man will be able to prevail against him. It must be written at the hour of Šedeq (Jupiter). If thou placest the tablet on the

\* "On one serves Qedoshiel," as mentioned below, is omitted here in the original part; the omitted words seem to have been added later on, on the margin, but they are now almost illegible.

† Not quite clear in the original.



seat of the ruler (Hegemon) or carriest it about thee every day, thou wilt prosper in greatness, and if thou placest it on the seat of a workman, he will get very much work.

VII. On the sixth day rules 'Anael. He is appointed on all manner of love. This ruler is in the likeness of a woman. She has in one hand a mirror in which she beholds herself, and in the other a comb with which she is combing her head. She, like unto other angels, has serving angels; she also holds her hands outstretched. On her right arm serves an angel whose name is 'Arbiel, on the left one called Niniel, over her head one whose name is Lahabiel, and at her feet one called Ahabiel. If thou wishest to use them, make a tablet of fine silver, draw upon it the likeness of a woman in the name of the woman thou likest, then write on her shoulder her name and the name of her mother, and the name of the one who loves (desires) her, and that of his mother, and draw her hands outstretched. Draw then under her right arm the figure of a nice young man, and write on his shoulder 'Arbiel, under her left arm draw the image of another young man and write on his forehead Niniel, behind her draw the image of a man with red ink and write on his shoulder Lahabiel. The use of this picture of the woman on the tablet is that it gains for thee the love of that man or woman whom thou desirest, with a strong and unbreakable love. Thou hast only to touch this tablet and they will run after thee, especially that woman whose name thou hast written on the tablet. And thou must utter the following conjuration:—"I conjure thee, 'Anael, thou and thy servants who are called by thy name, and whose name is included in theirs, viz:—"Arbiel, Niniel, Ahabiel and Lahabiel, in the name of *Uriel*, with the countenance flaming all round, inflame so-and-so with my love and with my strong affection, and may her (Mazal) destiny, be united with mine, in the same manner as Adam was united to Eve. May she not have any chance to eat or to drink, or to sleep, or to stand, or to sit, before she is in love with me . . . (?)<sup>\*</sup> and until she comes to me and fulfils all my wishes and desires." Then warm the tablet on the fire and thou wilt see marvellous things. If the person in question is a man, then say: "That he may fulfil my wish," viz., this or that thing. On the back of the tablet write *Siz*, for this is his Sigil, and write it in the hour of Nogah (Venus). It is also somewhat in the figure of Şedeq† (or:

<sup>\*</sup> Here is an unintelligible word in the original.

† Doubtful in the original.



write it also sometimes in the hour of Şedeq). And they say that if the image is drawn with the "thunderstone" and placed on a closed door, the door is sure to open by itself.

VII. On the seventh day rules Qaphşiel. This angel is of bad augury, for he is appointed only over evil. He is in the likeness of a man in mourning, and has two horns, and angel servants as the other angels aforementioned. On his right hand serves Qubiel, on his left Phaşiel, on the right horn Şafriel, on the left horn Iaşiel, behind him stands Aşiel, and at his feet Lahabiel. If thou wishest to make use of them to lower a man from his high position, make a tablet of tin and draw on it the likeness of an old man with outstretched hands; under his right hand draw the image of a little man, and write on his forehead Qubiel; on the left, the image of a man crying, and write on his shoulder Phaşiel; on the right horn, the image of a man flying on two wings, and write on his shoulder, or between his sides, or on his forehead, Şafriel; and on the left horn draw another man with wings outstretched flying, and the wings of the one must be touching the wings of the other, and write on his forehead, or on his shoulder, or on his sides, Iaşiel, and behind him draw the figure of a man with open wings, flying, with his hands on his forehead, and write on his forehead Aşiel, and at his feet draw with red ink the figure of a man, and write on his shoulder Lahabiel. The use of this tablet is that if thou placest it on the seat of a mighty man, or a king, or a priest, he will fall from his position, and if thou puttest it in a place where many people are assembled, they will scatter and go away from that spot. If thou placest it in a spot where they are building a town, or a tower, it will be destroyed. If thou placest it in hives, the bees will flee from there. Write the name Qaphşiel, and those of his angels, on pure parchment, and place it in a reed cane with seven knots, and utter the following conjuration whilst thou ridest upon that cane: "I conjure thee, Qaphşiel, and thy host, in the name of the most holy (the three times holy), guide me (carry me) to that and that place without hurt or harm." They say that a man will ride in one day the distance of an hundred days' travelling. Write and draw the images as described above and the name of a man and of his mother, and place it in anything thou likest (in whatever it may be), and tie it unto the wings of a dove, or of a bird of the desert, and conjure: "I conjure thee, Qaphşiel, and thy whole host, that thou drivest away so and so, that he be wandering about, to and fro, in the same manner as the Lord

drove Cain away, to be wandering to and fro, so shall so and so be ; he shall find no rest to the sole of his feet." He is then to let the bird fly. That man will be wandering to and fro without rest and without ceasing. If thou can'st not find a bird, take a pot (bowl) and place into it all that thou would'st have bound round the wing of the bird, stop the orifice (mouth) of the pot with pitch, so that water should not get into it,\* and throw it into the river. As long as the pot is swimming on the river, so long will that man be wandering about, until it breaks or water gets into it, or it sinks. It must be written in the hour of Shabbetai (Saturn). On the back of the tablet, or the parchment, write *Ani*, for this is his Sigil.

\* In the original somewhat corrupted.

(*End.*)



לדרוש כבוד כבוד של כבוד לא האו אויבך ושאל עלך קלד  
 והשבע בך תלמי שכתב וקצת שך וקדוש בהם  
 כל הערה כולה .. תבן דבן שבע ונעכש .. מאנ  
שבע הקדש בשם ישיה חכמי סגנוני אלה  
 הורג כל צור ובעם כבאק כדכרן שמו אנפן ..  
מזר אברהם עיינו ימכו הקדושה על הספר וימכו כל  
 מה שיראה לא שבת יכוין בכונה גדולה וימכו השם  
 המיוחד הדור בנקודת מפרש זה הספר ששמו  
 בו הכשרים בכתיבתם ועיונם בכתיבתם האחרת והשפעת  
 רוח הנבואה עליהם לרוב הדבקות בכתיבתם וכמעט כעיונם  
 בכתיבתם האחרת ועיונם בגלגלים והדומות העומדים על  
 הגלגלים להגיע אלפים בכל גלגל וללא יש לו מלאך מעט  
 שיביע אור ותקדו על מכות המלאך הוא ומלאו כי  
 קבוצת כל קבוצת אחר וכל אחד ואחד מתחילת קבוצתו  
 כאשר מתחילת אש העולם בבורהם " ועוד תקדו על עט  
 המלאך אם הוא כעצמו משה השליחות הוא ומלאו כי יש  
 להם משמשים עשו של חומים ולפי שחכמת האדם גדולה  
 מכל בעל חיים תקדו על כל עט ועט והשיבו השמושים  
 שלהם ומעט השתמשו בהם שמו שמה גדולה עד לאין  
 תכלית ותקדו ודרשו ועשו מהם משמים רבים וכבר אוקם  
 הספרים ועשו ספרים הרבה והאחרונים לא ידעו ללמוד  
 באופן הספרים עד פסא דמיא וגלה הקודות ואחדיו  
 חנוך הקדמון " ומלאו שעה נפוצה ואם החכמה  
 בכל

## I. זה הספר שישימו בו הבישדים

(fol. 36a.) בבחינתם ועיונם בחכמת האלהות והישפעת רוח הנבואה עליהם לרוב הדבקותם בחכמתם וכמעט בעיונם בחכמת האלהות ועיונם בגלגלים והרוחות העומדים על הגלגלים להניע אותם. בכל גלגל וגלגל יש לו מלאך מניע ישיניע אותו. וחקרו על תכונת המלאך ההוא ומצאו כי תכונתם כלם תכונה אחת וכל אחד ואחד מתחלפת תכונתו באישר מתחלפת (1) אישי העולם בעזרתם: ועוד חקרו על ענין המלאך אם הוא בעצמו עושה השליחות ההוא ומצאו כי יש להם מיטמישים יעשו שליחותם. ולפי שחכמות האדם גדולה מכל בעלי חיים חקרו על כל ענין וענין. והישינו היטמישים יטלהם. ומעת השתכמו בהם ישמחו ישמחה גדולה עד לאין תכלית וחקרו ודרשו ועשו מהם מעשים רבים. וכתבו אותם הספרים ועשו ספרים הרבה. והאחרונים לא ידעו ללמוד באותן הספרים עד שבא ריזאָל וגלה הסודות. ואחריו חנוך הקדמון. ומאותה ימיה נתפזרה זאת החכמה (fol. 36 b.) בכל העולם. מהם ידעו ומהם לא ידעו. ואני עייתי בספרים רבים וזה מה שהישינו מן המלאכים בכל ימי הישוב ובכל ימיה ושעה ושעה ודמותם ומעמדם ותועלתם. ואיך יוכל האדם להשתמש בהם. ולמה נקרא כל אחד באותו הישם. זה מפני שמיטמישים יוצא מהם ישר בישם\* הישר יטלהם כמו יטתראה. המלאכים יטל כל יום בראשיהם תתום ישם יטל מלאך היום ההוא.

II. ביום א' מויטל רפאל והוא בדמות איש. ועומד על כסא. וידיו פרושות וכן רגליו. ועל ימינו מיטמיש מלאך א' ששמו רחביאל. ועל שמאלו מיטמיש פניאל. ועל ראשו אריאל. ותחת רגליו להביאל. אלו המלאכים תועלתם לרפאת כל חולי. ולשמור מכל ישרים רעים ומכל רוחות רעות המחלים בני אדם. אם תרצה לרפאת יטום אדם מן מיטטפות או מרוח רעה או מיטטות או לישמור אדם מדרבים הנזכרים. צייר בקלף בתול (2) צורת איש ב' ידיו פשוטות. ותחת יד הימין צייר צורת איש קטן. וכתוב בשמאלו אריאל. ותחת רגליו צייר צורת איש אחר ויהיה ציורו אדום. מפני שהוא מלאך איש. וכתוב על שמו (נ"א על מיצחו) להביאל. ולמטה מהם כתוב זאת ההיטבעה. מא'ע רפאל אתה וכל מיטמישך הנקראים בשמך ושמך בהם. שיהם רחביאל פניאל אריאל להביאל. בישם אֶזְבוּנָה יטתרפא לפכפ' מכל חולי ומכל מזיק ומכל רוח רעה א'א'א' ס'ס'ס'. ואם תרצה להיטמר מכל דבר רע ומזיק. ומכל חיות רעות. צייר אלו המלאכים בקלף בתול. ותישאנו עמך ולא תירא. וכן אם תרצה לישמור נער קטן מרוח רעה ומכת מחלת. כתוב אלו המלאכים בלוח זקב כתיבה איטורית. ותישאנו עמך לא תירא מכל דבר רע לקטין ולגדול.

\* ששם יצא מיטם Read

ותועלת גדולה הוא יועיל. . . וצריך שיכתוב מאחרי הלוח זה הישם. מנא כי הוא סימנו. וצריך לכתוב בשעת חמה. וביום ולא בלילה. בדוק ומנוסה .:

111. ביום ב' מיטמיש גבריאל. וזה המלאך בדמות איש. ויש לו קרנים. ועל כל קרן וקרן מהם מלאך אחד בדמות איש. גם מיטמיש אישים. כמיש במלאך רפאל (fol. 37a) ועמידתו כך. זה המלאך בדמות איש וידיו פרושות. ותחת יד ימינו מיטמיש געדיל. ותחת יד שמאלו מיטמיש ברוביאל. ועל קרן ימין מיטמיש רחביביאל. ועל קרן שמאל מיטמיש אחריאל. ועל רגלו מיטמיש להביאל. ותועלת זה. לתת כח לכל חבוש. ולנצח בכל מה שתרצה לנצח איזה דבר. כמו מלחמה ומריבה וכל דבר שתרצה .: צייר בטם כסף כמו (4) המלאך כמו שאמר ויש לו שני קרנים ויהיו ידיו פרושות ותחת ימינו צייר דמות אדם קטן וכתוב על שכומו געדיאל. ותחת יד שמאלו צייר אדם קטן וכתוב על שכומו כריביאל. ועל קרן הישכם (4) יואל רחביביאל. ועל קרן שמאל צייר בדמות איש קטן רבוק עם הקרן. וכתוב על המצה או על הישכם יואל. ומאחוריו צייר בדמות איש קטן וכתוב במצה (4) אהביאל. ותחת רגליו צייר דמות איש קטן שהוא מלאך איש וכתוב על שכומו להביאל. ותישאהו עמך ולא תירא מקטן ומגדול ותינצח לכל דבר במלחמה ובמריבה. . . ואם תתן הטם בכל סחורה במהרה תמכור אותה. . . ואם תכתוב שמות המלאכים בקלף ותישאהו (4) עמך הם טובים מאד. ויהיו כתובים בכרכום וצריך לכתוב מאחורי הטם. . . כי הוא סימנו וצריך לכתוב אותה בצורת לבנה .:

114. ביום ג' מוישל סמאל. זה המלאך הוא בדמות אדם וידיו פרושות. ויש לו אישים מיטמיש כמו שאמר בישני. המלאכים הכתוב למענה אבל אין לו קרנים. ועמידתם כך. על יד ימינו מיטמיש סהריאל. ועל שמאלו מהריאל. ומאחוריו אחזיאל. ועל רגליו להביאל. ותועלתם להחריב ולהשימד ולהמית ולעשות כל רע. אם תרצה שתחתוך בחרב או בסכין יותר מכל אדם. עשה תפוח א' מברזל חזק. וכתוב ליטם סמאל ומיטמישו. ותתן אותה בסיכין (4) או בחרב ותחתוך כל מה שתרצה. ובנחת יותר מכל אדם. ואם תרצה שתנצח בכל מיני מלחמה שתכנס קח טם כסף או מנחויט או מברזל חזק וצייר ישם דמות. . . ותחת יד ימינו צייר דמות אדם קטן וכתוב על מצחו סהריאל ותחת יד שמאלו צייר דמות קטן וכתוב במצחו מהריאל. ובאחוריו צייר דמות אדם קטן וכתוב במצחו אחזיאל. ותחת רגליו צייר דמות אדם קטן וכתוב על מצחו להביאל. וביד הדמות הנקרא סמאל צייר דמות חרב. ובאותו החרב כתוב אלו המלאכים והם חתביאל אימיאל להביאל השמוריאל. ובידו האחר ראש אדם וכמו שהוא רוצה לחתוך אותו. ואחורי הטם כתוב זה הישם דל דם כי הוא חותמו. וצריך לכותבו בשעת מאדים. . . ואם תרצה להחריב בית או עיר או דרך או כפר כתוב סמאל ומיטמישו ביום מאדים בדם נדה על בנד מתלוי. ותתן אותו בפי צפרדע וקבור אותו בבית ולא ידור אדם באותו הבית עד שיחרב וצריך שתסתום פי הצפרדע במעט ישעיה וכתוב בשעיה דל דם וכן תעשה לכל מקום שתרצה. . . (fol. 37 b.) ואם תרצה להמית שום אדם כתוב סמאל ומיטמישו בבנר אותו אדם בדם נחש ותתן אותו בפי כלב קטן והתום פי הכלב בשעיה אדומה וכתוב בשעיה דל דם ותקבור אותו בפרשת דרכים וקורם קורם (4) ישיש יום ימות אם לא יסע מאותו מקום. . .



v. ביום ד' מוֹשֶׁל מִיכָאֵל. זה המלאך הוא בדמות איש אוחז בקרן וידיו פרושות ותחת יד ימינו מִשְׁמִישׁ מַעֲשָׂאֵל. ותחת יד שמאל מִשְׁמִישׁ יַחְתְּמִיָּאל. ועל הקרן עומד מלאך א' וישמו כוכביאל. ומאחריו מִשְׁמִישׁ אֶלְבִּיָּאל. ותחת רגליו מִשְׁמִישׁ לִהְבִּיָּאל. . . תועלת אלו המלאכים לתת דעה ובינה לכל אדם. כשתרצה להשתמש באלו המלאכים קח חתכת (1) בסף טוב או מבדיל וצייר עליו דמות איש ידיו פשוטות. . . וצייר מתחת יד ימינו דמות אדם קטן וכתוב על שכםו יַחְתְּמִיָּאל ועל ראשו עשה דמות קרן וצייר שם דמות איש אוחז בקרן. וכתוב במיצחו (2) או בשכםו כוכביאל ותחת (יד) רגליו צייר דמות איש קטן מצוייר באודם מפני שהוא מלאך איש וכתוב במצחו לִהְבִּיָּאל. ותועלת זה הטם הרבה מאד לתת חכמה ובינה ודעת. . . ואם תקשה אישה בלדתה תתי אותו הטם על לבה ותלד במהרה. . . ואם יהיה אדם הולך תתן הטם עליו כשהוא יושן ואם יושן בטוב ולא יקח חחולה דע כי הוא לחיים ואם יקין במהרה דע כי הוא למות. . . ואם תרצה לדעת האדם אם הוא מכושר אם לא כתוב אלו השמות מִיכָאֵל ומִשְׁמִישׁוֹ על ביצה בזעפראן ותן אותה תחת המטה שלו שהוא יושן עליה ותשבור אותה בבוקר. אם תמצא אותה צלוייה יש בה טיפת דם דע שהוא מכושר. . . ואם תרצה ללמוד נער א' מכל אדם קח הטם ההוא ורחץ אותו בין לבן בכל ליל ראשון ויקח הטם ביד (3) וישים פניו נגד מקום עלות השמש וישבע בזאת ההשבעה. מאַעֲ מִיכָאֵל אתה וכל מִשְׁמִישִׁיךָ הנקראים בשמך ושמך בהם בִּישׁ טַמְקִישָׁא ישתתן לי לב לדעת כל מה שלמדתי וישאלמוד וישאשמע וישאבין כל מה ישלמדו אותי ויפתח לבי לתורה ועיני לראות וידי לכתוב ואזני לשמוע. וישתה היין ויהיה אכולתו לחם חם עם דבש ויתחכם יותר מכל אדם. . . וצריך שיכתוב מאחורי הטם זה השם אֲבִנְי וצריך לכותבו בשעת כוכב (4).

vi. ביום ה' מִשְׁמִישׁ צִדְקִיָּאל. וזה המלאך בדמות איש. ולו יתני קרנים. ועל קרן מהם בדמות איש. גם יושן לו מִשְׁמִישִׁין אֲנִישִׁים כמו שאמרנו ביטאר המלאכים ליעלה (5) ועמידתם כך הוא. כי המלאך בדמות איש וידיו פרושות. ותחת יד ימין מִשְׁמִישׁ צִדְקִיָּאל. ותחת יד שמאל מִשְׁמִישׁ דִּהְבִּיָּאל ולו יתני קרנים על קרן. . . מִשְׁמִישׁ יַעֲצִיָּאל. ואחריו מִשְׁמִישׁ אֶפְרָצִיָּאל (6) אפרציאל. ותחת רגליו לִהְבִּיָּאל. ותועלת אלו המלאכים לתת חן וחסד לכל הנושא אותם. . . אם תרצה להשתמש בהם עשה טם מכסף או מבדיל וצייר בו שם דמות איש קטן וכתוב בשכםו צִדְקִיָּאל. ותחת יד שמאל דמות איש קטן וכתוב (fol. 38a.) בשכםו דִּהְבִּיָּאל. ועל ראשו עשה יתני קרנים ועל קרן ימין עשה צורת איש קטן אוחז בקרן כתוב בשכםו קְדוֹשִׁיָּאל. וככה עשה בקרן שמאל וכתוב במצחו יַעֲצִיָּאל. ומאחריו עשה דמות איש קטן וכתוב במצחו אֶפְרָצִיָּאל. ותחת רגליו דמות איש קטן כתוב במצחו לִהְבִּיָּאל מצוייר אדום. . . ותועלת זאת הצורה שכל שישאנה (7) מצא חן וחסד בעיני כל אדם וכל ישר וישיג כל מה שירצה. ואם יפול במחנה ישבו (8) לעולם לא יאסרוהו ויכבדוהו בני אדם. ואחור (9) הטם בתיב ילי כי זה סימנו. . . ואם תתן זה הטם במקום שיש בו מעט אנשים יפרו וירבו. (10) בואם מכל צד לדור יש. . . ואם תרצה להבחין אותו תתן אותו במקום דבורים ויפרו וירבו מאד. . . ומי שישא אותו לא יכול שום אדם כנגדו. וצריך לכתוב בשעת

צדק. ואם תתן זה הטס בכסא הנמון או יטאנו עליו ככל יום יעלה לגדולה עד מאד. . ואם תתן אותה במקום ייטיב בעל מלאכה תבא אליו מלאכה הרבה עד מאד. .

vii. ביום ו' מיטמיט ענאל. זה המלך מימונה על כל האהבה. . והוא כדמות אשה ובירה האחת מראה ורואה פניה. ובירה האחרת מסרק מסרקת ראשה גם היא כדמות האחרים. ויש לה אישים מיטמיטים אותה. והיא פרושה ידיה ותחת ידה הימנית מלאך ויטמו ערביאל. ועל הימאלית יטמו ניניאל. ועל ראשה יטמו להביאל. ותחת רגליה יטמו אהביאל. כשתרצה להשתמיט בו עשה טס מכסף טוב צורת אשה על שם האשה שאתה הפין. וכתוב על שכימה שמה ושם אמה ושם ההויטק ושם אמו. ועשה ישיהו ידיה פרושות. ותחת יד ימין עשה בחור א נחמד וכתוב על שכימו ערביאל. ותחת ידה הימאלית כתוב בחור אחר וכתוב במצחו ניניאל. ומאחריה עשה צורת איש מצוייר באדום וכתוב בשכימו להביאל. ותועלת זאת האשה שכוז הצורה (1) ואהבה גדולה הן איש הן אשה לכל מי שתרצה שיאהבך אהבה רבה ולא יפרד ממך תנע בטס בו וירין אחריו וימלא הפצץ ובפרט לאשה שכתבת שמה בטס. ותיטיב עזאת ההיטבעה ותאמר. מאע המלאך ענאל אתה ומיטרתך הנקראים ביטמן ויטמן בהם שחם ערביאל ניניאל אהביאל להביאל ביש אוריאל הלוחב פנים ואחור. ושתלחיב פכפ מרוב אהבתי וחבתי ותקרב מזולה למזולי כאהבת אדם להזה. וקא יהיה לה פנאי לא לאכול ולא לשתות ולא ליישן ולא לעמוד ולא לייטב עד שתאהב אותי סכרי (1) ותבא אלי אני פכפ ותמלא הפצי ויטאלתי. (fol. 38 b.) והמים הטס על האיש ותראה פלאים גדולים. ואם הוא איש אמור שיעשה הפצי יהוא דבר פ'. ומאחרי הטס כתוב סיט כי זה סימנו. וכתוב ביטעת נוזה. ועוד מעט היא בצורת צדק אמי יטאם יכתוב צורתו באבן ברק ויניח אותו על פתח סגור יפתח. .

viii. ביום ו' מיטמיט קפציאל זה המלאך אין בו תועלת כלל כי אם רע והוא כדמות איש שחיא אבל ויט לו ב' קרנים ויט לו אישים מיטמיטים אותו כמו תמלאכים האחרים. כי על ידו הימנית מיטמיט קוביאל. ועל ידו הימאלית פצחאל ועל קרן הימין צפריאל. ועל קרן שמאל יחסיאל. ומאחוריו מיטמיט אחיאל. ותחת רגליו להביאל. כשתרצה להשתמיט בהם אם תרצה להפיל אדם ממצלתו עשה טס מעופרת וצייר בו צורת איש זקן ידיו פרושות. ותחת ידו הימנית עשה צורת איש קטן וכתוב במצחו קוביאל. ועל הימאלית צורת איש בוכה ועל שכימו פצחאל. ועל קרן הימין צורת איש מפותח (1) מעופף ביטתי כנפים וכתוב על שכימו או בין כתפיו או במצחו צפריאל. ועל קרן הימאל עשה צורת איש אחר מעופף ויהיו פרושים כנפיהם האחת על האחר וכתוב במצחו או על שכימו או על כתפיו יחסיאל. ומאחוריו עשה צורת איש פריש כנפיו למעלה וידיו על מצחו וכתוב על מצחו אסיאל. ותחת רגליו עשה צורת איש אחר מצוייר אדום וכתוב על שכימו להביאל. ותועלת זה הטס אם תתן אותו בכסא הנמון או אדם גדול או מלך או כומר יפול ממצלתו. ואם תתן אותו במקום יטיב בו אנשים יתפזרו וילכו מאותו מקום. ואם תתן אותו במקום יטבונים עיר או כנעל יחרב. ואם תתן אותו

במקום דבורים יברחו מים . ואם תכתוב שם קפציאל ומלאכיו בקלף כישר ותתן אותו בקנה ישיש בו ז' קטרים . ותיטביע זאת ההיטבעה . ואתה רוכב על הקנה . מאע קפציאל וכל מחניך ביטם קקך יתולכוני למקום פ' וגא יזיקוני שום נזק . אמו' כי ילך מהלך מאה יום ביום א' . ואם תכתוב אותו מצוייר על הדרך שאמו' למעלה . ושם איש ושם אמו ותתן אותו בשום דבר ותקטור אותו בכנפי יונה או עוף מדברי ותיטביע . מאע קפציאל וכל מחניך יתבריה את פבפ ויהיה נע ונד כמו יתבריה היטם את קין ויהיה נע ונד כמו יתיה נע ונד כן יהיה פבפ ולא ימצא מנוח לכף רגליו . ותפריח הענף ויהיה האיש ההוא נע ונד כל ימיו ולא ימצא מנוחה . ואם לא תמצא עוף באותה טעה . קה קדרה ותן בה מה ירצית לקטור בכנפי הענף (fol. 39a.) וסתם פי הקדרה בזפת כדי (1) בלא מים והיטליך אותה בנהר . וכל זמן שהקדרה חולבת על פני המים יהיה נע ונד עד שתישבר או עד שיכנסו בה מים או עד שיתטבע . וצריך לכותבו בישעת יבתי וכתוב מאחורי הטם או הקף אני כי זה סימנו . עכ" .

(תם)



## LE LEVER HÉLIAQUE DE SOTHIS LE 16 PHARMOUTI.

PAR J. LIEBLEIN.

L'année passée le musée égyptien de Berlin a reçu une grande quantité de fragments de papyrus qui ont été trouvés à Illahoun et apportés de l'Égypte. Passant par Berlin et y visitant le musée au mois de septembre de la même année, je les ai vus et admirés. M. Borchardt a bien voulu attirer mon attention sur un fragment d'un intérêt tout particulier. Entre autres on y lit cette importante phrase :



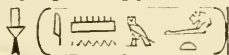
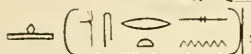
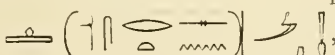
“ Le lever héliaque de Sothis a eu lieu le seizième jour du mois de Pharmouti.”

Si nous faisons le calcul, nous trouvons l'an 1882 a. J.-C. Car du 16 Pharmouti au 1 Thot il y a 140 jours et  $140 \times 4 = 560$  ans + 1322 = 1882 a. J.-C.

Quel est le roi qui régnait alors ? Notre fragment ne le nomme pas. Mais un autre fragment semble être daté de l'an 7 du règne d'Ousertesen III et, selon M. Borchardt, qui suppose que les deux fragments appartiennent au même papyrus, Ousertesen III serait le roi cherché et notre lever de Sothis aurait lieu sous son règne. Il n'éprouve aucun doute ; il affirme que nous avons dans notre texte une preuve décisive et indisputable de ce que Ousertesen III régnait environ l'an 1882 a. J.-C. Aussi les journaux Berlinoises en parlaient-ils comme une découverte qui n'admettait aucune discussion.

Mais d'abord le résultat est simplement impossible. Car si Ousertesen III régnait l'an 1882 a. J.-C., toute chronologie égyptienne serait impossible. Selon ma chronologie Ousertesen III régnait jusqu'à l'an 2128 a. J.-C., et l'on trouvait déjà que c'était rabattre trop son règne ; mais le faire descendre jusqu'à l'an 1882 a. J.-C. c'est nullement admissible, si toute fois on ne veut pas

renoncer à trouver aucun sens raisonnable dans les inscriptions égyptiennes. Je citerai seulement l'inscription bien connue d'Eléphantine, datée sous le règne de Thotmès III, laquelle nous indique un lever héliaque de Sothis le 28 Epiphi, ce qui nous donne l'an 1454 a. J.-C. pour le règne de Thotmès III.\* Entre Ousertsen III en 1882 a. J.-C. et Thotmès III en 1454 a. J.-C. il y aurait seulement un espace de temps de 428 ans. Je défie qui que ce soit à intercaler d'une manière raisonnable dans cet intervalle toutes les six dynasties, XII<sup>e</sup>—XVIII<sup>e</sup>. Comme cela est absolument impossible, il doit être une erreur ici de l'un ou de l'autre côté.

Quant à l'an 1454 a. J.-C. pour le règne de Thotmes III, il n'y a aucun doute possible : l'inscription d'Eléphantine est très claire quant à la date du lever de Sothis, et le roi Thotmès III y est nommé avec toute l'évidence possible. L'erreur doit donc venir de l'autre côté, c'est-à-dire de la date de l'an 1882 a. J.-C. pour le règne d'Ousertesen III. En vérité, nous ne sommes points certains que ce fût sous le règne d'Ousertesen III qu'eût lieu le lever de Sothis du 16 Pharmouti. Au contraire. Le fragment des Papyrus Borchardt qui mentionne ce lever nomme un roi Ousertesen mort, ce qui seulement prouve que le papyrus est postérieur à un Ousertesen quelconque. C'est dans un nom composé d'une ville ou d'un temple appelé ; je cite la transcription de M. Borchardt qui y voit Ousertesen II. Cependant, cette transcription est douteuse. Les Papyrus Petrie, publiés par M. Griffith, qui pour la plupart appartiennent au même temps, connaissent une localité  et une autre localité nommée , qui selon M. Griffith porte le nom d'Ousertesen III. Peut-être le nom du Papyrus Borchardt doit-il être transcrit , et dans ce cas Ousertesen III serait mort au moment de notre lever de Sothis. M. Borchardt croit, comme nous avons vu, qu'un autre fragment de ses papyrus qui cite Ousertesen III comme vivant nous donne la date du roi contemporain. Du point de vue philologique c'est possible. Mais d'une possibilité on ne peut pas tirer une conclusion qui renverse tout ce que nous savons ailleurs.

\* Voy. Lieblein, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, p. 39.

Aussi l'opinion de M. Borchardt n'a-t-elle pas été acceptée par les égyptologues, vue l'impossibilité du résultat. Quelques-uns se tirent de l'embarras par la supposition que le calendrier égyptien ait été changé après que notre texte avait été écrit sans cependant que l'on saurait préciser le temps et la nature du changement : dans ce cas il serait inutile de faire le calcul, parce que nous n'aurions pas les éléments nécessaires du calcul.

D'autres savans croient que "la donnée doit être rapportée à la période sothiaque précédente, et qu'il s'agit du XXXIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère," comme dit M. Oppert dans un article dernièrement publié.\* Pour le lever de Sothis le 16 Pharmouti ce savant admet donc l'an 3314 a. J.-C. Cependant, je ne peux pas non plus accepter cette explication : car l'an 3314 pour le règne d'Ousertesen III n'est guère plus probable que l'an 1882 a. J.-C. D'ailleurs, la question est beaucoup plus compliquée, et elle ne se laisse pas résoudre d'une manière si facile.

Quant-à-moi, je crois que notre texte n'a pas été écrit sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. L'original, le manuscrit primitif peut-être ; car la substance, le contenu essentiel roule sur les choses de cette dynastie ; mais les textes que nous avons devant nous sont probablement des copies, du reste assez librement faites et modelées d'après les règles, les formes de la langue en usage au temps du copiste, ou plutôt un recueil des annales de temples et d'histoire, comme le Papyrus Westcar est un recueil des contes merveilleux, le Papyrus Ebers un recueil ou un code de la médecine, le Papyrus Mathématique de Londres un code des règles de mathématique. Tous ces documents appartiennent à peu près au même temps et révèlent par conséquent—chose remarquable et importante—une époque littéraire et scientifique. Et cette époque tombe—chose encore plus surprenante—sur le règne des Hyksos, c'est-à-dire sur la XV<sup>e</sup> dynastie de Manéthon, laquelle d'après ma chronologie régnait de 1925 à 1641 a. J.-C., alors même lorsque les Hyksos égyptianisés avaient pris eux-mêmes les rênes du gouvernement et favorisaient les arts et les sciences des indigènes. Or, le Papyrus mathématique porte la date de l'an 33 d'un roi Hyksos  ; ce papyrus appartenait donc évidemment aux temps des Hyksos. Le papyrus

\* Oppert, *Illusions et déceptions chronologiques dans la Revue Archéologique*, 1900, I, pp. 4-16.





de M. Erman \* sont nouvelles se trouvent dans les Papyrus Petrie comme dans le Papyrus Westcar, p. ex.

 *The Petrie Papyri*, XI, 20; XII, 10.

 . *Papyrus Westcar*, II, 19.

 *Pap. Westcar*, V, 18.

 *Pap. Westcar*, XI, 7.

 *Pap. Westcar*, IV, 4.

Ces formes indiquent, je crois, un temps postérieur à la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

3.  . Le nom propre composé  se trouve dans *The Petrie Papyri*, pl. XI, l. 14. Or, les

noms propres composés de  ne se trouvent jamais, autant que je sache, avant la XIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Dans l'ancien empire et jusqu'à la fin de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie ces surnoms sont toujours formés par , voy. mon *Dictionnaire de noms*, Nos. 139, 228, 529,

1494, 1514, 1560, tandis que la forme  ne commence à apparaître qu'avec la fin de la XIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie et le commencement de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie pour devenir plus tard très fréquente (voy. mon *Dictionnaire*, Nos. 235, 349, 571 et passim).

Voilà encore une forme qui révèle un temps postérieur à la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Les exemples cités s'accordent donc très bien et nous mènent au même résultat, ce qui semble prouver que nos textes ne sont pas écrits sous la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, comme on a pensé jusqu'ici.

Pour ce motif je crois, que les papyrus trouvés par MM. Flinders Petrie et Borchardt dans le Fayoum et ses environs sont des annales historiques et ecclésiastiques recueillies et écrites pendant l'époque littéraire et scientifique dont nous avons parlé plus haut, cette époque qui a produit les recueils de mathématique de médecine, de contes

\* Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, § 115. On lit dans § 113: "Erst die Vulgärsprache des mittleren Reiches beginnt das Demonstrativ  als Artikel zu verwenden"; et dans § 115: "Aus der Verbindung des Artikels mit den Possessivsuffixen entsteht in der späteren Sprache der Ausdruck  'der seinige,' Koptisch πωϥ."

populaires et qui tombait sur la XV<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Les rois Hyksos de cette dynastie ont donc joué à peu près le même rôle dans l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Égypte que jouait plus tard la dynastie étrangère des Ptolémées qui après avoir consolidé leur pouvoir dans le pays conquis prenaient goût pour sa civilisation, fondaient le Musée et la grande bibliothèque d'Alexandrie, faisaient écrire l'histoire égyptienne à Manéthon et traduire les livres de l'Ancien Testament aux Septante.

Comme la XV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dont j'ai indiqué depuis long temps la position politique\* régnait de 1925—1641 a. J.-C., le lever héliaque de Sothis de l'an 1882 a. J.-C. avait lieu sous l'un de ses premiers rois. On ne saurait dire lequel. Car les six rois de la XV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dont Manéthon indique les noms et la durée des règnes ont régné si long temps, 284 ans, qu'ils ne sont probablement que des représentants d'un plus grand nombre des rois; aussi Manéthon donne-t-il à la XVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie qui n'est autre chose qu'une récapitulation, une sommation de toute la domination des Hyksos 32 rois et 511 ans.

L'explication que j'ai donnée ici du lever de Sothis le 16 Pharmouti me sourit, puisqu'elle lève les difficultés chronologiques, qu'elle s'accorde avec les nouvelles formes grammaticales de nos texts, et qu'elle jette une lumière inattendue sur une époque obscure de l'histoire littéraire et scientifique de l'Égypte. Je la sou mets au jugement des savants.

Dixi et animum meum liberavi.

Christiania, 21 août, 1900.

\* Lieblein, *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne*, p. 89 sv.



## THE TEMPLES OF ANCIENT BABYLONIA, I.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

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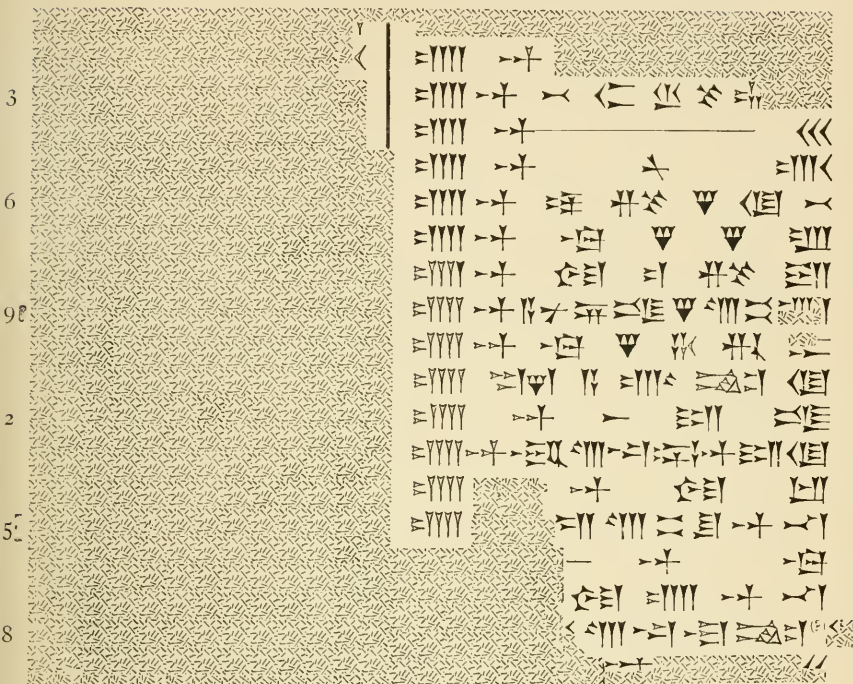
It having been represented to me that a publication of the tablets containing lists of the temples of Babylonia would be a useful one, I have tried to supply this want by copying and transcribing all the texts of this class which were known to me, and I give a first instalment of them herewith. As this is mainly a publication intended for Assyriologists and those interested in Assyriology, it was at first intended to give, with the texts, a provisional transcription only. As, however, there are a great many scholars, not Assyriologists, who are more or less interested in the religion of Babylonia, and therefore in the names of the temples of that ancient land, it has been thought well to add to the text and transliteration a provisional translation as well, in order that all the members of the Society of Biblical Archæology may at least see the nature of the inscriptions published in the *Proceedings* of the Society to which they belong.

It is greatly to be regretted that most of the tablets inscribed with lists of temples are very fragmentary; but such as they are, they will be found by students, in all probability, to be very valuable as far as they go. Many of the temples given by them are mentioned repeatedly in the extensive literature of Babylonia and Assyria, and the religious and other texts referring to temples will probably contribute much, in their turn, to the elucidation of the names contained in those now placed before the members of this Society.

K. 3089.

## A LIST OF TEMPLES AND NAMES OF STREETS.

## SIDE WITH NAMES OF TEMPLES.



K. 3089.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

## TRANSLATION.

|                                                      |                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bit D.P. . . . .                                     | <i>Temple of . . . . .</i>                                              |
| 3 Bit D.P. Be-lit Bâbili                             | <i>Temple of the Lady of Babylon.</i>                                   |
| Bit D.P. Sin                                         | <i>Temple of Sin.</i>                                                   |
| Bit D.P. Pap-sukal                                   | <i>Temple of Pap-sukal.</i>                                             |
| 6 Bit D.P. Dumu-zi ša nisâti                         | <i>Temple of Tammuz of the distant place.</i>                           |
| Bit D.P. Nabû ša nikasi                              | <i>Temple of Nebo of property.</i>                                      |
| Bit D.P. Nin-giš-zi-da                               | <i>Temple of Nin-giš-zida.</i>                                          |
| 9 [Bit] D.P. A-nu-ni-tu <sup>m</sup> ša lib-bi . . . | [ <i>Temple of</i> ] <i>Anunitu<sup>m</sup> which is within . . . .</i> |
| [Bit] D.P. Nabû ša ħa-ri-i*                          | <i>Temple of</i> [ <i>Nebo of . . .</i>                                 |
| [Bit] Ištar A-ga-de D.S.                             | [ <i>Temple of</i> ] <i>Ištar of Agadé.</i>                             |
| 12 [Bit] D.P. Aš-ra-tu <sup>m</sup>                  | [ <i>Temple</i> ] <i>of Asratu<sup>m</sup>.</i>                         |

\* Or ħa-ri-tu<sup>m</sup>.



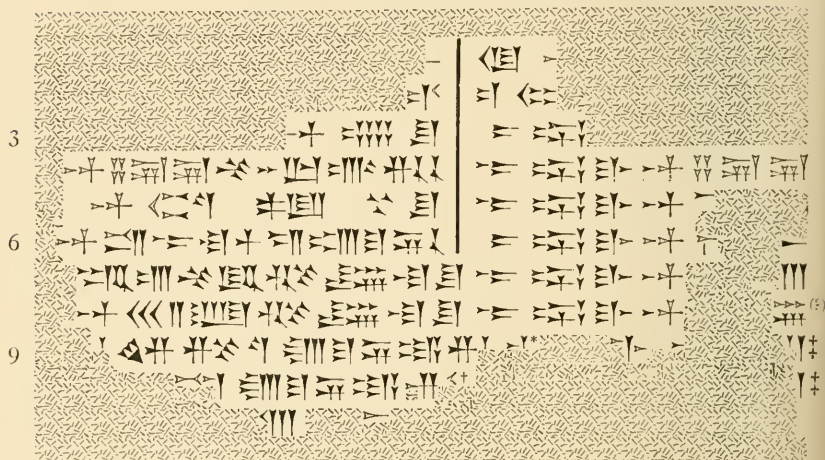
## TRANSCRIPTION.

## TRANSLATION.

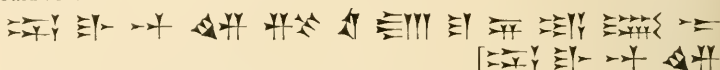
|    |                                        |                                    |
|----|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|    | [Bit] D.P. Mağ lib-ba Bâbili D.S.      | [Temple] of Mağ within Babylon.    |
|    | [Bit] D.P. Nin-ip                      | [Temple] of Ninip.                 |
| 15 | [Bit D.P.] Si (?) lib-bi šu-an-na      | [Temple] of Si (?) within Šu-anna. |
|    | [Bit . . .] D.P. Nabû                  | [Temple] of Nebo . . .             |
|    | [Bit D.P.] Nin Ê-an-na                 | [Temple] of the Lady of Ê-anna.    |
| 18 | [Bit D.P. . . .] lib-ba la (?) -ne (?) | [Temple of . . .] within . . .     |
|    | [Bit] . . . . D.P. (?) . . . . .       | [Temple of] the god (?) . . . . .  |

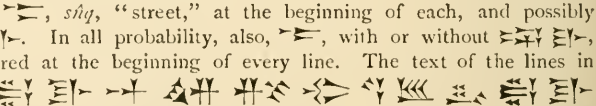
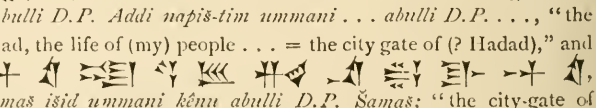
K. 3089.

## SIDE WITH NAMES OF STREETS.

\* Or † Probably *gi*.

‡ Judging from Reissner, pl. 142, II., lines 11 and 12, lines 9 and 10, above should read:—

 [cuneiform signs]

with, perhaps, , *šūq*, "street," at the beginning of each, and possibly without . In all probability, also, , with or without , should be restored at the beginning of every line. The text of the lines in Reissner reads  *Abulli D.P. Addi napîš-tim ummani . . . abulli D.P. . . .*, "the city gate of Hadad, the life of (my) people . . . = the city gate of (? Hadad)," and  *Abulli D.P. Šamaš isîd ummani kēnu abulli D.P. Šamaš*; "the city-gate of Šamaš, the foundation of (my) faithful people = the city-gate of Šamaš."

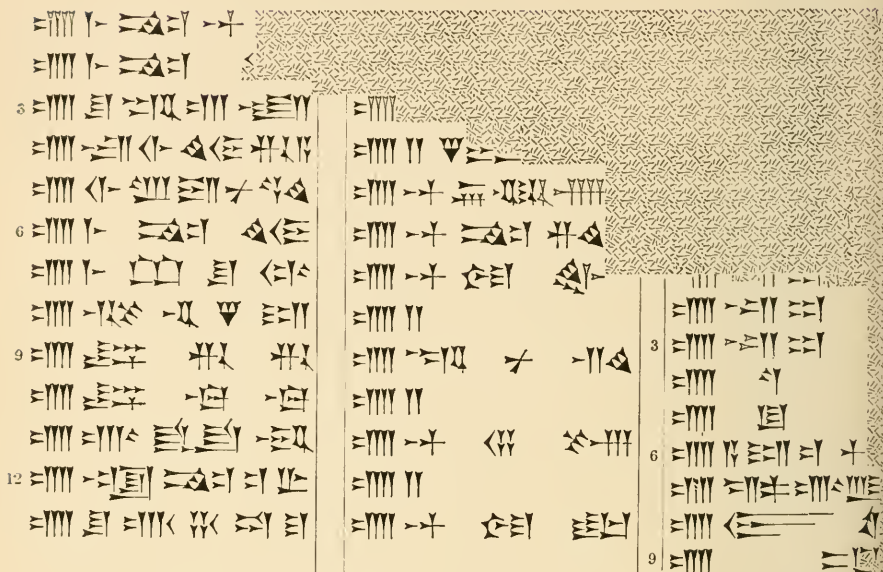




K. 4374 + 8377. OBERVERSE.

COLUMN I.

COLUMN II.



\* Also written, in later times, in Babylonian,    and   , *E-saggil*, Aram. יסגגל (tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 619.)

## PROVISIONAL TRANSCRIPTION.

|    | COL. I.               | COL. II.                |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------------|
|    | Ê-me-lam an . . . . . | . . . . .               |
|    | Ê-me-lam . . . . .    | . . . . .               |
| 3  | Ê-su-El-lil-li        | Bît . . . . .           |
|    | Ê-su-ši-ġuš-ri-a      | Bît mina ša . . . . .   |
|    | Ê-pad-da-nu-un (?)    | Bît D.P. Sa-dara[-nuna] |
| 6  | Ê-me-lam-ġuš          | Bît D.P. Bil-ġi         |
|    | Ê-me-nigin-šu-du      | Bît D.P. Nin-nimme (?)  |
|    | Ê-nam-en-gar-ra       | Bît mina                |
| 9  | Ê-rab-ri-ri           | Bît En-nu-ġi            |
|    | Ê-rab-ša-ša           | Bît mina                |
|    | Ê-šanga-maġa          | Bît D.P. Azaga-su       |
| 12 | Ê-mu(?)-ne-ġiš-tug    | Bît mina.               |
|    | Ê-šu-laġ-ġa-dum-ma    | Bît D.P. Nin-šara       |
|    |                       | [Ê-]abzu . . . . .      |
|    |                       | Ê-abzu . . . . .        |
|    |                       | Ê-babbara . . . . .     |
|    |                       | Ê-ku . . . . .          |
|    |                       | Ê-a-ra-ġiš-bara (?)     |
|    |                       | Ê-sag-ila*              |
|    |                       | Ê-ġir-tam (?)           |
|    |                       | Ê-tab-ku (?)            |

\* In later times *Ê-saggil*, Aram. *Ye-sangil* (see note \* above).

## PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION.

## COL. II.

|                                              |                         |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Temple of the glory of heaven (?)            |                         |
| Temple of the glory                          |                         |
| Temple of the perfection of Bel              | temple . . . . .        |
| Temple of the glory of ħušria                | temple do. of . . . . . |
| Temple of the declaration of the oracle      | temple of Sa-dara-nuna  |
| Temple of the terrible glory                 | temple of Bilgi         |
| Temple of the completion of the assembly (?) | temple of Nin-nimme (?) |
| Temple of the institution of dominion        | temple do.              |
| Temple rab-ri-ri                             | temple of En-nu-gi†     |
| Temple rab-ša-ša                             | temple do.              |
| Temple of the supreme priest                 | temple of Azaga-su      |
| Temple of supplication-hearing               | temple do.              |
| Temple of the performance of hand-washing    | temple of Nin-šara      |

\* The probable completion is , Ê-me-lam-an-na, with the translation here given. The temple of Nusku at Ĥarran bore this name.

† Explained by K. 8382 as "the temple of the judge."

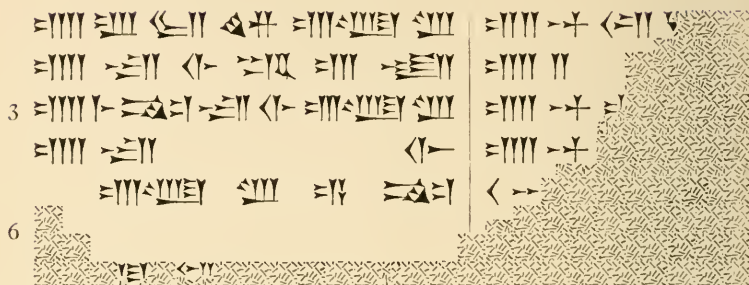
## COL. II.

|                                          |                                   |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [Temple] of the abyss* . . . . .         |                                   |
| Temple of the abyss* . . . . .           |                                   |
| Temple of the abyss* . . . . .           |                                   |
| Temple of brilliance                     | [the temple of the sun at Sippar] |
| Temple of Merodach [?]                   |                                   |
| Temple of the appearance [?] of fire [?] |                                   |
| Temple of the high head                  | [the temple of Belus at Babylon]  |
| Temple of the coming [?] of day [?]      |                                   |
| Temple tabku [?]                         |                                   |

\* In all probability there was another character, qualifying the word , ZUAB=ABZU, meaning "abyss," in these three lines. It is not improbable that in some cases a "sea" or receptacle with water for lustral purposes was intended. Officials called , sig-abzu, four in number, are mentioned on the tablet B. 42.

K. 4374 + 8377.

## REVERSE.



## TRANSCRIPTION.

|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|----|---|-----|---|-----|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Ê   | - | meš | - | lam | - | ni | - | gur | - | ru  | bit D.P. Nergal . . . |                |                        |
| Ê   | - | su  | - | ši  | - | El | - | lil | - | li  | bit mina . . .        |                |                        |
| 3 Ê | - | me  | - | lam | - | su | - | ši  | - | gur | -                     | ru             | bit D.P. Giš (?) . . . |
| Ê   | - | su  |   |     |   |    |   |     |   | ši  | -                     | bit D.P. . . . |                        |
|     |   |     |   | gur | - | ru | - | e   | - | ne  | u D.P. . . .          |                |                        |
| 6   |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
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|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
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|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
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|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
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|     |   |     |   |     |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |
|     |   |     |   | </  |   |    |   |     |   |     |                       |                |                        |

## TRANSLATION.

|                                                |                         |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Temple of the mešlam, filled (with) reverence† | temple of Nergal . . .  |
| Temple of the glory (?) of Ellilli ‡           | temple do. . . .        |
| 3 Temple of the splendour filled (with) glory  | temple of Giš (?) . . . |
| Temple of (gods with) glory filled             | temple of the god . . . |
| 6                                              | and the god . . .       |
| [Temple] . . . . .                             | . . . . .               |

\* The traces following *ku* look like those of .

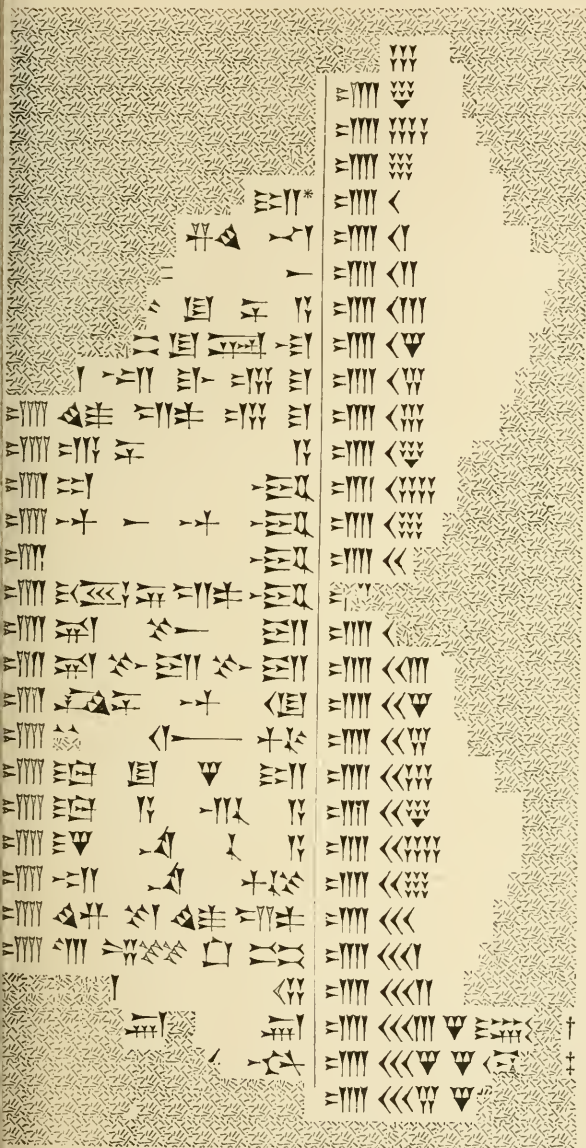
† *Mešlam* (generally read *Riṭlam*) seems to be the name of a tree or its fruit. Nergal was called *Mešlam-ta-êa*, "(the god) who came forth from the *mešlam*," or "from the fruit of the *mêsu* (tree)." The rendering of , *ni*, is based on the meaning *puluḫtu*, "fear, reverence," which this character has. For , *gur*, translated by *malû*, "to fill," see W.A.I. IV, 9, 28a.

‡ *Ellilla* (for *Enlilla*) is the Akkadian name of the god Bel.

K. 4413 + 8376.

A.

B.

PROVISIONAL TRANSCRIPTION  
OF COLUMN A. §

[Ê] . . . . . - ra  
 [Ê] . . . . . - gi - na  
 [Ê] . . . . . - aš  
 [Ê] . . . bi (?) - ku - du - a  
 [E] . . . bi - ku - dagal - la  
 [Ê] . . . zu - gal - kalam - ma  
 [Ê] - ġur - sag - kalam - ma  
 [Ê] - kala - du - a  
 [Ê] - ab - mağa  
 [Ê] - dingira - as - dingira - mağa  
 Ê - mağa  
 - umun - ni - sag - mağa  
 Ê - uš - gid - da  
 uš - gid - da - gid - da  
 Ê - Dûr - ili D.S.  
 [Ê] - \* - igi - gala  
 [Ê] - bara - ku - gar - ra  
 [Ê] - bara - a - ri - a  
 [Ê] - bur - na - šu - a  
 [Ê] - uru - na - nam  
 [Ê] - ni - te - ġur - sag  
 [Ê] - ša - guq - qu  
 [Ê - du?] - azaga  
 † [Ê] - kara - kara  
 ‡ [Ê] - . . . - tim

\* Only  to be seen—no traces of . † Probable completion       ,  
*Uru*, the city *Ur* (*Muyuyyar*). ‡ Probable completion   , *Kēš*. § The  
 transcription of B is omitted, as the lines simply contain the character for temple, *bîtu*, followed  
 by a number. Lines 28-30 have, in addition, *ša Uri* (?), “of *Ur*”; *ša Kēš*, “of *Kēš*”; and  
*ša . . . . .*, “of . . . . .” (See the foregoing footnotes).

## PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION OF A AND B.

|    |                                             |                     |
|----|---------------------------------------------|---------------------|
|    |                                             | [temple] 6          |
|    |                                             | temple 7            |
| 3  |                                             | temple 8            |
|    |                                             | temple 9            |
|    | [Temple]. . . . . ra*                       | temple 10           |
| 6  | [Temple]. . . . . gi-na                     | temple 11           |
|    | [Temple]. . . . . -aš                       | temple 12           |
|    | [Temple]. . . -bi-ku-du-a                   | temple 13           |
| 9  | [Temple]. . . -bi-ku-dagal-la               | temple 14           |
|    | [Temple]. . . -zu-gal-kalamma               | temple 15           |
|    | [Temple] of the mountain of the world       | temple 16           |
| 12 | [Temple] kala-du-a                          | temple 17           |
|    | [Temple] supreme house                      | temple 18           |
|    | [Temple] of the one god, the supreme god    | temple 19           |
| 15 | The supreme temple                          | temple 20           |
|    | Temple of the supreme chief lord            | temple [21]         |
|    | Temple of the long staff (?)                | temple 2[2]         |
| 18 | Temple of the long staves (?)               | temple 23           |
|    | Temple of Dûr-îlî†                          | temple 24           |
|    | [Temple] of the intelligent . . .           | temple 25           |
| 21 | [Temple] of him who dwells in the sanctuary | temple 26           |
|    | [Temple] of the (firmly) founded sanctuary  | temple 27           |
|    | [Temple] bur-na-šua                         | temple 28           |
| 24 | [Temple] like a city‡                       | temple 29           |
|    | [Temple] of the terror of the mountain      | temple 30           |
|    | [Temple] of reverence (?) of heart          | temple 31           |
| 27 | [Temple] of the glorious [abode?]           | temple 32           |
|    | [Temple] of glorious brilliance             | temple 33 of Ur (?) |
|    | [Temple] . . . . -tim                       | temple 34 of Kîs    |
| 30 |                                             | temple 35 of . . .  |

\* Or *si*.

† This is explained in W.A.I. II, 13, l. 19, as the temple-tower of Larsa.

‡ The name of this temple, *Ê-uru-na-nam*, requires, like many others, further examination. The force of the ending *nam*, however, will be seen in the expressions [*Û-šaḡ?*] *aabba-gi rada-nanam*, "when (in) the middle of the sea there is a stream," Sem. Bab., *inuša kirib lâmti<sup>m</sup> rašumma* (Bilingual story of the Creation, line 11); *bur-mi-bi-nanam*, "his raven is black," Sem. Bab., *êrib-šu šalmunma*; etc. These and similar passages, compared with Brünnow, 1597: [*na*] *nam* = *kiâm*, "thus," imply some such meanings as "to be," "to be like," or similar.





## K. 4714.

## TRANSCRIPTION.

|    |                          |                                          |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|
|    | Ti-amat                  | Šu-[bat] . . . . .                       |
|    | [Ki?] Dilmun- (D.S.) -na | Šu-[bat] . . . . .                       |
| 3  | Ki Aratta D.S.           | Šu-bat [D.P. Kap-ta?]                    |
|    | Engur-ra                 | Šu-bat D.P. Ê-[a]                        |
|    | Ê-du-azaga               | Šu-bat D.P. Ê (?) . . . . .              |
| 6  | Ê-ga-ni-nuna-ġi-du       | Šu-bat D.P. . . . .                      |
|    | Ê-ġal-ana-ki             | Šu-bat D.P. Zir-pa[-ni-tu <sup>m</sup> ] |
|    | Aš-te-ki-el              | Šu-bat D.P. Is-šar (?)                   |
| 9  | Ki-ni-din* zaga          | Šu-bat D.P. Bêl ša . . . . .             |
|    | Ki-ir-ġi* guba           | Šu-bat D.P. A- . . . . .                 |
|    | Dili-gan                 | Šu-bat D.P. . . . .                      |
| 12 | Ê-u-zu                   | Šu-bat D.P. . . . .                      |
|    | Ê-ub-a-ra-al-li          | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
|    | Ti- . . . .              | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
| 15 | Di (?) . . . .           | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
|    | Ê-ri (?) - da (?)        | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
|    | Ê-šiti-du                | Šu-bat [D.P.] . . . . .                  |
| 18 | Ê-sag-ga-an-na (?)       | [Šu]-bat D.P. . . . .                    |
|    | Ê ġul (?) -[la]          | [Šu]-bat D.P. . . . .                    |
|    | Ê-nigin- [na?]           | [Šu]-bat D.P. . . . .                    |
| 21 | Ê- gira                  | [Šu]-bat D.P. . . . .                    |
|    | Ê-gu-si-sa               | Šu-bat D.P. Li (?) . . . . .             |
|    | Ê-ġur-ša-ba              | Šu-bat D.P. [Bil-dara]                   |
| 24 | Ê-maġ-ti-la              | Šu-bat [D.P. Nabu]                       |
|    | Ê-igi-guba               | Šu[-bat D.P. Igi-guba?]                  |
|    | Ê-ġiš-ku-pi-D.P. Nisaba  | [Šu-bat D.P. Nisaba?]                    |
| 27 | Ê-ku-gara                | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
|    | Ki-unu . . . . .         | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
|    | Ê-giri-lal . . . . .     | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
| 30 | Ê-di- . . . . .          | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |
|    | Ê-gana . . . . .         | [Šu-bat D.P.] . . . . .                  |

\* The characters in these two lines are all clearly written. Nevertheless, one cannot help thinking that the names given ought to be either

  , *Ki-ni-din*, or   , *Ki-ir-ġi* in each case.

## TRANSLATION.

|                          |                               |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>The sea</i>           | <i>the abode of</i> . . . . . |
| <i>Dilmuna</i>           | <i>the abode of</i> . . . . . |
| 3 <i>Aratta</i>          | <i>the abode of</i> [Kap-ta?] |
| <i>The water-channel</i> | <i>the abode of</i> Êa        |

|    |                                                       |                                            |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
|    | <i>The house of the glorious abode</i>                | <i>the abode of Êa (?)</i>                 |
| 6  | <i>Ê-ga-ninuna-ġidu</i>                               | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
|    | <i>Temple of the seer (?) of heaven and earth</i>     | <i>the abode of Zirpanitum<sup>m</sup></i> |
|    | <i>The servant's throne</i>                           | <i>the abode of Issar (?)</i>              |
| 9  | <i>Ki-ni-din of the right*</i>                        | <i>the abode of Bel of . . . . .</i>       |
|    | <i>Ki-ir-ġi of the left*</i>                          | <i>the abode of A- . . . . .</i>           |
|    | <i>Dili-gan</i>                                       | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
| 12 | <i>The temple of the seer</i>                         | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
|    | <i>The temple of the region of Hades</i>              | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
|    | <i>Ti- . . . . .</i>                                  | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
| 15 | <i>Di (?) . . . . .</i>                               | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
|    | <i>Ê-rida (?)</i>                                     | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
|    | <i>Ê-šiti-du</i>                                      | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
| 18 | <i>Ê-sagga-anna (?)</i>                               | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
|    | <i>The temple of joy (?)</i>                          | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
|    | <i>The temple of the sanctuary</i>                    | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
| 21 | <i>The temple of power (?)</i>                        | <i>the abode of . . . . .</i>              |
|    | <i>The temple of the director (?) of the land (?)</i> | <i>the abode of Li (?) . . . . .</i>       |
|    | <i>Ê-ġur-šaba</i>                                     | <i>the abode of [Bil-dara]<sup>†</sup></i> |
| 24 | <i>The supreme temple of life‡</i>                    | <i>the abode of [Nebo]</i>                 |
|    | <i>Ê-igi-guba</i>                                     | <i>the abode of Igi-guba ?]</i>            |
|    | <i>The temple of the ear of corn</i>                  | <i>[the abode of Nisaba ?]</i>             |
| 27 | <i>Ê-ku-gara</i>                                      | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
|    | <i>Ki-unu . . . . .</i>                               | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
|    | <i>The temple of the sword-bearer . . .</i>           | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
| 30 | <i>Ê-di- . . . . .</i>                                | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |
|    | <i>Ê-gana . . . . .</i>                               | <i>[the abode of] . . . . .</i>            |

\* For the reading of the untranslated word in lines 9 and 10, see the note on the preceding page.

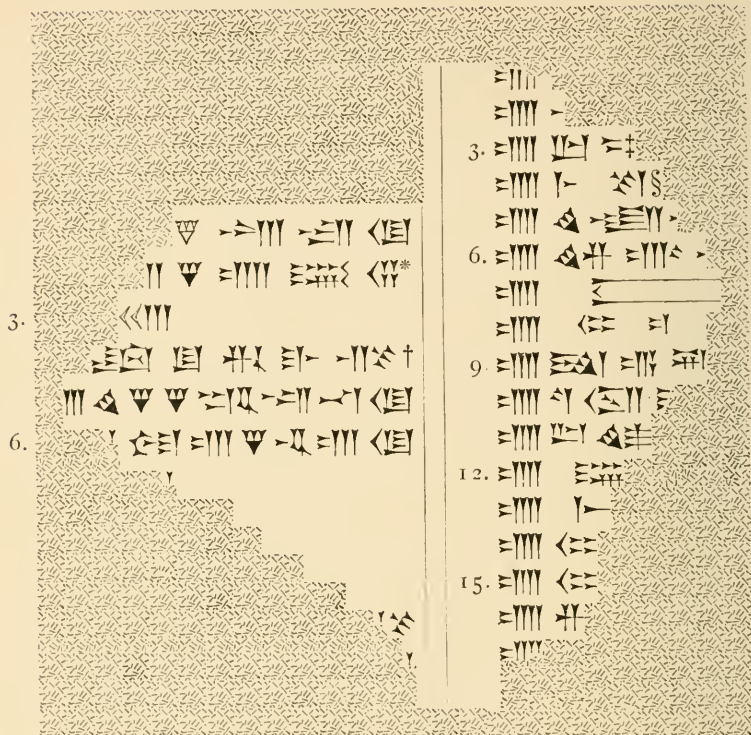
† Cf. Reissner, pl. 134, l. 39, etc., where       , "mother Bil-dara," is described as "lady of Ê-ġur-šaba."

‡ Judging from Reissner, pl. 140, l. 170, it would seem as if Ê-maġ-tila, "the supreme temple of life," were the same as Ê-zida, the temple-tower of Borsippa. Compare also pl. 10, l. 148; pl. 63, l. 14; pl. 73, rev. 12, etc., together with W.A.I. IV, pl. 11, ll. 11a, 12b, etc. In W.A.I. IV<sup>2</sup>, pl. 29, ll. 28-30a, Merodach is called *šar Bâbîlim*, *bêl Ê-sagila*, *šar Ê-zida*, *bêl Ê-maġ-tila*, "king of Babylon, lord of Ê-sagila, king of Ê-zida, lord of Ê-maġ-tila." It is upon the above passages from Reissner, and the cylinder-inscription of Nebuchadnezzar published by the Rev. C. J. Ball in the *Proceedings* for May, 1888, col. 1, l. 42 (Plate II), that the restoration here given is based. According to this text, Ê-maġ-tila was the *papaġa Nabû*, "chamber" or "chapel of Nebo."

S. 278.

A.

B.



\* Possibly a variant for  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ .

† Cf. W.A.I. II, 61, line 71 *de*.

‡ This character is apparently to be completed  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , but what followed it, if anything, is uncertain. K. 9179, Col. I, line 5, mentions the temple  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , *É-D.P. Ur-sag*, "the temple of the Hero"—" (If) thou go to the Temple of the Hero, thou shalt come forth from what is evil."

§ Possibly to be completed  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ , *É-mete-ur-sag*, a temple at Kiš (Hymn) restored (?) by a king whose name seems to read ( $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$ ), W.A.I. I, pl. 5, xxii. Apparently it was the temple of the god Zagaga (*see* line 7 of the text quoted, and *cf.* the tablet B, 52, line 70), and the great temple-tower of the place (*É-ši-ê-nir-ki-dur-maša*, "the temple-tower, the supreme seat," B. 52, W.A.I. II, 50, line 12). It was restored by Hammurabi, who "raised its head like heaven" (B. 52a, 71-74).

## TRANSCRIPTION OF S. 278.

## TRANSLATION OF S. 278.

## A.

## A.

|   |   |   |   |   |   |                    |        |         |           |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------------|--------|---------|-----------|
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                  | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | ša                 | Gir-su | D.S.    | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | šanê               | ša     | bît     | Uru-azaga |
| 3 | . | . | . | . | . | šalšu              | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Dûr-Ku-ri-gal-zi   | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | -hi-ša             | ša     | Sin-na  | D.S.      |
| 6 | . | . | . | . | . | Bêlti              | ša     | Nippuri | D.S.      |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                  | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | [The remainder has | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | traces of char-    | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | acters only.]      | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                  | .      | .       | .         |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                  | .      | .       | .         |

|   |   |   |   |   |   |                       |                 |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|-----------------|---|---|
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                     | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | of                    | Girsu           | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | (temple 2)2 (?)       | of the house of | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Uru-azaga             | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | (temple) 23 (?)       | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | the fortress of       | Dûr-            | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Kuri-galzu            | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | of the Moon-god city* | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | (of) Beltis of Nippur | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                     | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                     | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                     | .               | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | .                     | .               | . | . |

## B.

## B.

|    |   |   |   |   |   |                  |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|---|---|---|
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-               | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-               | . | . | . |
| 3  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-ur-sag (?)     | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-me-te-[ur-sag] | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-hi-li          | . | . | . |
| 6  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-im-ga          | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-utul (?)       | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-mi-is (mis     | . | . | . |
| 9  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-a-dan-uš       | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-ut-dim-ma (?)  | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-ur ur-         | . | . | . |
| 12 | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-lu-            | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-me-            | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-mi-            | . | . | . |
| 15 | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-mi-            | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-zi (?)         | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | Ê-               | . | . | . |
| .  | . | . | . | . | . | .                | . | . | . |

|   |   |   |   |   |   |                                    |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the hero (?)†            | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the glory [of the hero]‡ | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the glory                | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the shepherd (?)         | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the mēsu-tree (?)        | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the power of             | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the brilliance (?)       | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the mound[tain] (?)      | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the man                  | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of the voice (?)            | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . | . | . | Temple of                          | . | . | . |

\* Or, perhaps, "the city Sinna," with the same meaning.

† See note † on preceding page.

‡ See note ‡ on preceding page.

## PRÆFECTI ÆGYPTI.

*January 30th, 1900.*

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In connexion with the dates and order of the Præfecti Ægypti of the first two centuries of our era, of whom the most complete list yet provided has been given by J. Grafton Milne, M.A., in his "Egypt under Roman Rule," and also a shorter one by Dr. Botti in the "Bulletin of the Institut Egyptien," the following notes may be of service in constructing an improved catalogue.

The M. Maximus, under Augustus, the authority for whose official existence was, as stated by M. Milne, Philo, is also mentioned by Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," 36, 9-69, and he is the "M. Magio M. f. Maximo præf(ecto) Ægypti," "Tarraconenses," of Cor. Ins. Latinorum IX, 1125.

A. Avillius Flaccus, to whom Mr. Milne assigns years 32 to 37 A.D., is referred to in the 21st year of Tiberius, say A.D. 35, in a papyrus obtained by M. Boissier of Geneva. The text is an order from Flaccus to collect arms from the people.

Mr. Milne's "L. Lusius" of A.D. 54 has been shown by M. Seymour de Ricci to be L. Lusius Geta: the Lusius Geta of Tacitus ("Annales," XII, c. 42), the lacuna following Λούκιος Λούσιος being completed by Γέτας in the Dimeh inscription; this identification makes A.D. 54 Lucius Geta's final year of office.

The M. Petronius Honoratus, of Berlin and British Museum papyri, is the "M. Petronio M. filio Quirina tribu Honorato præfecto Ægypti" of "Cor. Ins. Latinorum," 6, No. 1625.

There is also an Egyptian Præfect Longæus Rufus, omitted in the lists, of whom more anon, mentioned in "Berlin Griechische Urkunden," 807-10, and an undated inscription of him has just been found at Alexandria.

With reference to a third Titianus, who occurs under Caracalla's reign as a high official, perhaps præfect, in M. Nicole's Geneva papyrus No. I, Mr. Milne suggests he may be the Titianus termed



procurator of Dion, executed by Aurelius Theocritus at Caracalla's command; but it is possible the papyrus personage was not a præfect, and not the official alluded to by Dion, but the Flavius Titianus recorded in an inscription of A.D. 229, found at Beuel in Germany (see "*Jahr. des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden in Rheinlande*," 1898, p. 110); it commences "I. O. M. Marti propugnatori S. Victoriae Saluti imp. Severi Alexandri Aug." and terminates, "Legio I Minervia Pia Fidelis Severiana Alexandriana cum auxiliis pugna rebus peractis cumque Titio Rufino clarissimo viro Leg. legionis eiusdem . . . Agente sub Flavio Titiano legato Augusti pro prætore consulari nostro ponendam curavit VI calend nouembres Imp. Alexandro et Dione cos."

The second volume of "*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*" presents us with the names of several new Præfects of Egypt under Commodus, fortunately in their chronological order in connection with the great papyrus of the "*Petition of Dionysia*." These in their order of succession are :—

Flavius Sulpicius Similis, Longæus Rufus, and Pomponius Faustianus. The dates derivable from the papyrus prove the former was præfect in November, 182 A.D., and also in 183 A.D. The second in A.D. 185, and that Faustianus commenced his career as præfect before January, 186 A.D. Previous to having the assistance of this new document, Mr. Milne tells us ("*Roman Egypt*," 179) that Flavius Priscus was præfect in 181, and M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius sometime under Commodus, whilst between the years 180 and 183 A.D. he places a certain P. Mænius Flavianus. It will be seen therefore that his list of præfects, and those of the new papyrus, give no less than six of such officials for the twelve-year reign of Commodus, besides some of the dates being apparently contradictory. The Dionysia Papyrus appears to preclude P. Mænius Flavianus being in office between 180 and 183, and the length of their term of office does not admit of six præfects in twelve years. Death, or removal from office, may have shortened the term of some of them, but the discrepancies are too great for this to account for all the difficulties, and it is to be hoped that a reconsideration of the matter, aided by the additional evidence, will place the true order of the various præfects in its correct succession.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH OFFORD.

## NOTES.

L. Munatius Felix, interesting because almost certainly the præfect of Justin's "Apology," known from other papyri to have been in office between A.D. 148-154, is now definitely fixed by a papyrus published in "Oxyrhynchus Papyri," Part II, as in power in A.D. 151.

In "Hermes," 1898, Herr Meyer states that Claudius Firmus set up Psilaan, prince of the Blemmyes, as puppet Emperor, ruling Egypt as his præfect.

A Praefect whose mutilated name occurs in the Berlin Papyrus, No. 378, is not accounted for here. The document is dated in the 10th year of some Emperor, and alludes to the II Trajana Fortis Legion. The name occurs twice as follows:—

A[ov]χιωι . . . . . ωι; and . . . . . υ . . . . . ατω

See *Comptes Rendus Académie des Inscriptions*, 1900, p. 211.

## THE PRAEFECTS OF EGYPT.

The handiest list of the praefects of Egypt is certainly that published by Prof. Milne in the fifth volume of Prof. Petrie's *History of Egypt* (pp. 176-181). Having on different occasions collected a few additional notes on the subject, I print them here, hoping they may be of use to students. As a matter of fact, Prof. Paul Meyer has given some of them in his new book on the army in Egypt under the Greek and Roman domination\*; however, as his book is not at all easy of access, it is better to give here *all* I have collected on the subject, except, of course, what Mr. Offord has included in his article (see above). I have made constant use of Dessau's excellent *Prosopographia imperii romani*, which appears to be seldom quoted in English books†. Here is then the list of praefects, with the earliest and latest dates known of each of them, and all additional references known to me and not quoted by Prof. Milne.

\* Paul M. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten*. Leipzig. 1900. 8vo. (Teubner) x+231 pages.

† Berlin, 1897-98, 3 volumes, 8vo.; by Klebs, von Rohden and Dessau; quoted in this article as P.

1. (30–Apl. 29 B.C.)... ... GAIUS CORNELIUS GALLUS (P. I, 448). Inscription from Rome, *Bullettino Comunale*, 1886, p. 332, n. 1367), mentioning a *C. Cornelius Galli libert(us) Hermia*. Eutropius, 7, 7. Paeanius. Jerome, *Chronicon*, years 1989 and 1990. Probus, *Ad Vergilii eclogas* (ed. Keil), p. 6, ecl. 10, 50. Suetonius, *Aug.*, 66. Plutarch, *Antonius*, 79. Orosius, 6, 19. Ruf. Fest., 10. Dio Cassius, 51, 17. Servius, *In Virgilii eclogas*, 10, 1, et *Georg.*, 4, 1. Eusebius, *Chronicon* (Armenian version), year 1991 or 1992. Syncellus, p. 583, 18. Ammianus Marcellinus, 17, 45. *Fragmenta Bobiensia* (Grammatici, latini, vii), p. 543. Virgil, *Ecl.*, 10 ; 6, 64. Ovid, *Trist.*, 2, 445 ; 4, 10, 53 ; 5, 1, 17 ; *Amores*, 1, 15, 29 ; 3, 9, 64 ; *Ars amatoria*, 3, 334 ; *Remed. amoris*, 769 ; Propertius, 3, 34, 91. Martial, 8, 73, 6. Quintilianus, 10, 1, 93 ; 1, 5, 8. Vibius Sequester (ed. Bursian), p. 5, 21. Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 10, 32. Anon., *De viris illustribus*, 82, 2. Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 16. *Life of Virgil* by Valerius Probus (ed. Reifferscheid), p. 53 ; by Donatus, p. 59 ; by Phocas, p. 70, 31. Parthenius *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*, preface. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Origines*, 6, 9. Suetonius, *rel.*, p. 132.
2. (29–26 B.C.) ... ... GAIUS PETRONIUS (P. III, 25) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 6, 181. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, 15, 9, 2.
3. (25 B.C.) ... ... GAIUS (?) AELIUS GALLUS (P. I, 16). Inscription from Athens, *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*, III, 577. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 6, 160. Strabo, 2, 118. Zonaras, 10, 32. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, 15, 9, 3. Galenus, xii, 629, 738, 784 ; xiii, 28, 29, 77, 138, 202, 310, 472, 550, 556, 838, 885 (?) ; xiv, 114, 158, 159, 161, 170, 189, 203, 730.
4. (24–22 B.C.) ... ... GAIUS PETRONIUS *iterum*.
5. 13–12 B.C.) ... ... PUBLIUS RUBRIUS BARBARUS (P. III, 137). Inscription from Casinum, C.I.L. X, 5169. A latin inscription from Rome names a *Quinta Bartari filia*, whose nurse was called *Rubria Ichmas*, doubtless a daughter or descendent of our praefect.
6. (7 (?) B.C.) ... ... GAIUS TURRANIUS (P. III, 344).
7. (A D. Sept. 1–Feb. 3) ... PUBLIUS OCTAVIUS (P. II, 425).

8. (Under Augustus) ... MARCUS MAGIUS MAXIMUS (P. II, 323). Inscription from the Oasis, C.I.Gr. III, p. 442, n. 4957, line 27. See also Mr. Offord's article (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 36, 9, 69, and C.I.L. IX, 1125).
9. (A.D. 10/11). ... GAIUS IULIUS AQUILA (P. II, 167). Inscription from Alexandria, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vii, p. 448.
10. (A.D. 14) ... AEMILIUS RECTUS (P. I, 36). Seneca, *Consolatio ad Helviam*, 19.
11. (About A.D. 15-16) ... LUCIUS SEIUS STRABO (P. III, 192). Inscription, C.I.L. V, 4716 and VI, 9535. Tacitus, *Annal.*, 1, 17; 1, 24; 4, 1; 4, 23; 6, 8. Velleius Paterculus, 2, 127. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 36, 197.
12. (A.D. 21) ... GAIUS GALERIUS (P. II, 106).
13. (A.D. 31) ... VITRASII POLLIO (P. III, 456). Inscription, C.I.L. X, 3871, referred to him by Dessau.
14. (About A.D. 32) ... TIBERIUS IULIUS SEVERUS or HIBERUS (P. II, 143).
15. (About A.D. 32-37) ... AULUS (?) AVILLIUS FLACCUS (P. I, 190). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4957, line 27. Eusebius, *Chronicon* (Armenian version), year 2054; Jérôme, *Chron.*, year 2055; Syncellus, p. 615, 11, and 626, 5; Wilcken, *Ostraka*, n. 1372. See also Mr. Offord's article (*Genera papyrus*).
16. (A.D. 37) ... NAEVIUS SERTORIUS MACRO (P. II, 396). Dio Cassius, 58. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 12 and 26. Tacitus, *Annal.*, 6, 23, 48; *ibid.*, 29, 47; *ibid.*, 15; *ibid.*, 45, 46; *ibid.*, 50. Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, pp. 551-553. Philo, *In Flaccum*, p. 519. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, 18, 6, 6. 7.
17. (A.D. April 39-41). ... GAIUS VITRASII POLLIO (P. III, 456). Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, 36, 57. Inscription, C.I.Gr. 4963, wrongly attributed to the fourth year of Tiberius by Letronne (followed by *all* later workers), but rightly restored to Caligula by Professor Dessau.
18. (A.D. 41/42) ... LUCIUS AEMILIUS RECTUS (P. I, 36).

19. (A.D. Aug. 45-47). ... GAIUS IULIUS POSTUMUS (P. II, 208). Inscription from Rome, C.I.L. VI, 918. *Liberti* of his appear to be mentioned in C.I.L. VI, 19969, 20168, and 20189. A slave (*Ilus C. Iuli Postumi librarius*) is known by C.I.L. VI, 9518. Our praefect is also named on an unpublished Latin inscription from Alexandria, now in the Athens museum. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus (II, n. 283) shows he was already praefect in August A.D. 45.
20. (A.D. 47-April 52) ... CNAEUS VERGILIUS CAPITO (P. III, 401). Tacitus, *Hist.*, 3, 77, 4, 3.
21. (A.D. 54, April) ... ... LUCIUS LUSIUS GETA (P. II, 308). Tacitus, *Annal.*, 11, 31, 43 and 12, 42; Bormann, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 4, p. 400; my note in *Rev. Arch.*, 1899, vol. 35, p. 428. See Mr. Offord's article.
22. (About A.D. 55) . . . TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS BALBILLUS (P. I, 360). Inscription, C.I.Gr. 6668 = Kaibel, 1323. Seneca, *Quaest. Natur.*, 4, 2, 13.
23. (between Nero and Nerva) [MARCUS METTIUS] MODESTUS (P. II, 384).
24. (A.D. 59-July 61). ... LUCIUS IULIUS VESTINUS (P. II, 219). Weight published by Longpérier, *Journal des savants*, 1873, p. 751, and by Allmer, *Inscr. ant. de Vienne*, vol. II, appendix. *Speech of Claudius at Lyons*, C.I.L. XIII, 1668. Slaves of his mentioned, C.I.L. VI, 9520 and 17197. Tacitus, *Hist.*, 4, 53. *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 250. Inscr. Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 33. See also Wilcken, *Hermes*, 1893, p. 233.
25. (A.D. 67) ... ... CAECINA TUSCUS (P. I, 257). Suetonius, *Nero*, 35.
26. (A.D. Sept. 68 and 69) ... TIBERIUS IULIUS ALEXANDER (P. II, 164). Inscription from Arad, C.I.Gr. 4536 f. Inscription, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1895, p. 524. Inscription in Oxford, C.I.L. vi, 294. Pseudo-Aristoteles, *περὶ κόσμου*, *beginning of the preface*. Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 6. Tacitus, *Annal.*, 15, 28, and *Hist.*, II, 74. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, 20, 5, 2; *Bell. Jud.*, 2, 11, 6; 2, 15, 1; 4, 10, 6; 5, 1, 6; 5, 5, 3; 5, 12, 2; 6, 4, 3.

27. (A.D. 70 and 71) ... TIBERIUS IULIUS LUPUS (P. II, 199). Inscription at Thebes, C.I.L. III, 31. ?Kaibel, *Inscr. graec. Sic. et. Ital.*, n. 2421, 2 (either this Lupus or *M. Rutilius Lupus*, n. 38).
28. (About A.D. 71) ... VALERIUS PAULINUS (P. III, 373). Tacitus, *Hist.*, 3, 43.
29. (A.D. 82 Febr.) ... GAIUS TETTIUS (?) AFRICANUS (P. III, 308). Inscription from Assisi, C.I.L. XI, 5382. This second inscription gives only his *cognomen*. His *nomen* read *Tettius* by Mommsen, but *Lelius* by Renier (*Oeuvres de Borghesi*, vol. VII, p. 58) only appears in an inscription on the Memnon colossus. (See the fac-simile in Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, Abth. VI, pl. 101, n. 28).
30. (A.D.) 83 June) ... LUCIUS LABERIUS MAXIMUS (P. II, 257). Military diploma, C.I.L. III, p. 1962. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, 7, 6, 6. Inscription from Rome, C.I.L. VI, 2059.
30. (A.D. 86–Febr. 88) ... GAIUS SEPTIMIUS VEGETUS (P. III, 216). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 273.
31. (A.D. Oct. 89–May 90) ... MARCUS METTIUS RUFUS (P. II, 374). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237 (columns iv and viii) and n. 247. Inscription from Arles, C.I.L. XII, 671. See also C.I.Gr. 4279 and 4280.
32. (A.D. March 95) ... TITUS PETRONIUS SECUNDUS (P. III, 29). Dio Cassius, 67, 15, 2. Eutropius, 8, 1. Orosius, 7, 11. Victor, *Epit.*, 12, 8. Was in 96 *praefectus praetorio*, and killed the emperor Domitian.
33. (A.D. 98–Febr. 99) ... GAIUS POMPEIUS PLANTA (P. III, 70). Inscription Lebas—Waddington, n. 1225. *Schol. in Juvenalem*, 2, 99.
34. (A.D. Aug. 103–Feb. 104) GAIUS VIBIUS MAXIMUS (P. III, 423). Bilingual milestone from Nubia, published by me. *Comptes-Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1900, p. 78. Statius, *Silv.*, 4 praef. and 4, 7. Martial, 1, 7. Pliny, *Epist.*, 3, 2. Military diploma, C.I.L. III, p. 859.
35. (A.D. 105) ... GAIUS MINICIUS ITALUS (P. III, 377). Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 305, n. 251.



36. (A.D. 105/6) ... ... DIOSCURUS. Inscription, Kaibel n. 2421, 1 (perhaps not a praefect).
37. (A.D. May 109) ... ... GAIUS SULPICIUS SIMILIS (Greek Σίμιλος) (P. III, 289). Dio Cassius, 69, 19. *Excerpta de virtutibus*. Xiphilinus. Zonaras, 11, 24. *Excerpta de sententiis*. Ulpianus, *fragm. Vat.*, 233. Vita Hadriani, 9, 3-5. *Excerpta Salmasiana (Fragm. hist. Gr.* iv, 581). Cedrenus I, 438. *Schol. ad Persium*, 2, 1. Unpublished Vienna Papyrus (year 13 of Trajan). Two inscriptions from Rome very likely refer to him, C.I.L. VI, 259 and 31865.
38. (A.D. 115-117 Jan.) ... ... MARCUS RUTILIUS LUPUS (P. III, 149). See C.I.Gr. 4843 and Reinach, *Rev. des études juives*, 27 (1893), p. 72. Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 311, n. 322.
- [39. (A.D. 117) ... ... QUINTUS MARCIUS TURBO FRONTO PUBLICIUS SEVERUS (P. II, 339). Inscriptions C.I.L. III, 1462, and XIV, 4243. Vita Hadriani, 4-9 and 15. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, 4, 2. Fronto, *ad Antoninum pium*, 3, 165. Perhaps mentioned in C.I.L. VI, 1941.]
40. (A.D. 118 April ... ... QUINTUS RAMMIUS MARTIALIS (P. III, 125). Inscription from Bubastis, *Bull. soc. arch. Alexandrie*, 1898, p. 45. Inscriptions from Rome, C.I.L. VI, 221 and 222. Also mentioned C.I.L. IX, 5667.
41. (A.D. Febr. 121-April 124) TITUS HATERIUS NEPOS (P. II, 127). Inscription, C.I.L. XI, 5213.
42. (A.D. Mar. 126-Aug. 131) TITUS FLAVIUS TITIANUS (P. II, 77). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237, col. vii.
43. (A.D. Nov. 133-Feb. 135) MARCUS PETRONIUS MAMERTINUS (P. III, 28). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237, col. viii. Inscriptions, C.I.L. VI, 977 and 1009. Inscriptions, *Bullettino Comunale*, 1885, p. 151, n. 1077, and p. 153, n. 1078; *ibid.* 1886, p. 98, n. 1139. Fronto, *Ad amic.*, I, 10, p. 180 (ed. Naber). Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 123, n. 21.
44. (A.D. 137-139) ... ... VALERIUS EUDAEMON (P. II, 41). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237, col. viii, Vita Hadriani, 15, 3. M. Anton, 8, 25. Inscriptions, *Bull. corr. hell.*, iii, 257 (now at Alexandria), and C.I.L. III, 431. *Berlin. griech. Urk.*, n. 733. Cattaui Papyrus, IV.

45. (A.D. March 139-143) ... GAIUS AVIDIUS HELIODORUS (P. I, 187). Dio Cassius, 69, 3 and 71, 22. *Vita Hadriani*, 15, 5 and 16, 10. *Vita Avidii Cassii*, 1. Aristides, *orat.*, 26 (ed. Dindorf I, p. 524). Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 257, n. 106.
46. (A.D. 145-147) ... ... LUCIUS VALERIUS PROCULUS (P. III, 375). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, p. 208. Inscriptions, C.I.L. II, 1971; VI, 1002; XIV, 2957. *Berlin. griech. Urk.*, n. 378 (?).
47. (A.D. 148) ... ... MARCUS PETRONIUS HONORATUS (P. III, 27). Inscription from Rome, C.I.L. VI, 1625. See Mr. Offord's article. Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 300, n. 203.
48. (A.D. 151) ... ... LUCIUS MUNATIUS FELIX (P. II, 58 and 389). *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237, col. viii.
49. (A.D. Aug. 154-Oct. 158) MARCUS SEMPRONIUS LIBERALIS (P. III, 196). *Berlin. griech. Urk.*, n. 780. See *Ephem. epigr.* vii, 458. Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 131, n. 24.
50. (About A.D. 159-Nov. 161) LUCIUS VOLUSIUS MAECIANUS (P. III, 481). Geneva papyrus, n. 35. Inscription C.I.L. XIV, 250. *Vita Marci* 3, 6. Fronto, *ad Marcum Caesarem*, 4, 2 (ed. Naber, p. 61), Marcus Aurelius, *εἰς ἑαυτὸν*, 1, 6. *Vita Pii*, 12, 1. Digest. *passim* (see Lenel, *paling. iur. civ.* I, 575).
51. (About A.D. 161) ... ... POSTUMUS, *Berlin. griech. Urk.*, n. 388.
52. (A.D. 162/3) ... ... MARCUS ANNIUS SURIACUS. *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237, col. ix, p. 151.
53. (A.D. 164-May 166) ... TITUS FLAVIUS TITIANUS (P. II, 77). Inscription C.I. Gr. 4831b (see p. 1215). Lucian *De Hist. conscr.*, 21. Inscription from Ephesus: Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus. Inscr. from the great theatre*, n. 10, p. 56. (Could be referred also to n. 42.)
54. (About A.D. 167) ... ... MARCUS BASSAEUS RUFUS (P. I, 230). Inscriptions C.I.L. III, 5171, and IX, 2438. Dio Cassius, 71, 5. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist*, 2, 1, 28. See *fragm. Vatic.*, V, p. 206 (ed. Dindorf) and *Vita Avidii Cassii*, 13, 8.

55. (A.D. 174–Oct. 175). ... GAIUS CALVISIUS STATIANUS (P. I, 294). Inscription from Verona, C.I.L. V, 3336.
56. (About A.D. 176–180) ... TITUS (?) PACTUMEIUS MAGNUS (P. III, 5). Berlin Papyrus B.G.U. 823, l. 1. Grenfell, *Fayûm towns*, p. 207, n. 159.
57. (A.D. 181) ... ... FLAVIUS PRISCUS.
58. (A.D. Nov. 82) ... ... FLAVIUS SULPICIUS SIMILIS. *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237, col. iv, vi, viii. See Mr. Offord's article. Professor Grenfell doubts whether n. 58 is another man than n. 37.
59. (A.D. July, 184) ... ... RINUS. Unpublished Greek inscription from *Sakha* (Xois), copied in 1883 by Professor Petrie (now in Gizeh Museum: copied by Milne and Jouguet).
60. (A.D. May–Sept., 185) ... TITUS LONGAEUS RUFUS. *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237. *Berlin. griech. Urk.*, n. 807. Latin inscr. from Alexandria (Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 228 = C.I.L. III, 14137). See Mr. Offord's article.
61. (A.D. Jan.–July, 186) ... POMPONIUS FAUSTIANUS. *Oxyrhynchus papyri* II, n. 237. See Mr. Offord's article.
62. (About A.D. 189 ... ... MARCUS AURELIUS PAPIRIUS DIONYSIUS (P. I, 212). Inscriptions C.I. Gr. 5895 (= Kaibel, 1072), and C.I.L. X, 6662. Another published by Lankorónski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* II, 228, n. 207. See also Aelianus (*Fragm.* 86, ed. Hercher) quoted by Suidas *sub verbo* ἐλαϊκόμησε.
63. (A.D. Mar. 193–Apr. 194) LUCIUS MANTENNIUS SABINUS (P. II, 331). Inscription C.I.L. XIV, 2955.
64. (A.D. 194–Feb. 196) ... MARCUS ULPIUS PRIMIANUS (P. III, 462).
65. (A.D. July, 197–200?) ... AEMILIUS SATURNINUS (P. I, 36). Dio Cassius, 75, 14 Inscription C.I. Gr. 4701b (?).
66. (A.D. 201/2) ... ... MAECIUS LAETUS (P. II, 319). Dio Cassius, 75, 9 and 77, 5. Inscriptions C.I. L. VI, 228, 1987, 2130, 3002; VIII, 5505; IX, 1609 and 4972; III, 1063 and 5185; XIV, 122. Codex Iustin, *passim*. *Fasti consulares* ad. annum 215.
67. (A.D. 202–Oct. 207) ... SUBATIANUS AQUILA (P. III, 276).

68. (A.D. March, 211) ... . . . . Inscription published by Sayce, *Rev. des études gr.*, VII (1894), p. 299.
69. (A.D. March, 215) ... SEPTIMIUS HERACLITUS (P. II, 135, and III, 209). See inscription, C.I.L. III, 781.
70. (A.D. June, 216–Feb. 217) VALERIUS DATUS (P. III, 356). Dio Cassius, 78, 15.
71. (A.D. 218) ... . . . BASILIANUS (P. I, 229).
72. (A.D. Aug. 219–220) ... GEMINIUS CHRESTUS (P. I, 343; Zosimus I, 11. Dio Cassius, 80, 2. Zonaras, 12, 15.
73. (A.D. Jan. 222) ... . . . LUCIUS DOMITIUS HONORATUS (P. II, 22, 146, and III, 501). Inscriptions C.I.L. ix, 338, and vi, 3839 (to be joined on to 3861). Botti *Mus. Alex.*, p. 156, n. 2496. *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, p. 121. (This last document wrongly dated 165 by Professor Milne and 242 by Professor Grenfell.) Professor Dessau is far from certain, C.I.L. VI, 3839 really refers to our [*Honor*]atus.
74. (A.D. 223) ... . . . MARCUS AEDINIUS IULIANUS (P. I, 11). Inscriptions, C.I.L. IX, 338, and XIII, 3162. He is also the [A]ἰδίνιος Ἰουλιανός of the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* I, n. 35, whose name had not yet been restored there by any worker on the matter.
75. (A.D. 232) ... . . . MEVIUS HONORATIANUS (P. II, 374). Berlin papyrus Parthey *mem. dell' inst.* 2, 451. Paris papyrus n. 69, col. III, line 14. Had nothing to do with the *Honoratus* of an Alexandrian inscription quoted *supra* ad. n. 73. His name is always *Honoratianus*, as very acutely remarked by Prof. Jouguet, *Comptes. rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1900, p. 211.
76. (A.D. ) ... . . . PUELIUS MAENIUS FLAVIANUS (P. II, 321). The reading of the name is very doubtful, and Letronne's conjecture that he lived under Commodus rests on no solid basis whatever. He appears to have lived in the third century, but we cannot yet date him to a certainty.\*

For the later praefects I have very little to add to Prof. Milne's references. Besides, they rarely occur on the published papyri

\* I do not know what evidence Botti has for quoting in the year 148 a certain *Aemilius Dinarchus* as praefect of Egypt. I suppose he found the *cognomen* in Malala l. xi (ed. Bonn, p. 280), who is a very unreliable authority (see P. II, 13, s.v. *Dinarchus*), and the *nomen* in C.I.L. VIII, 2730 and 4228 (= P. I, 33).

and inscriptions, and are mostly known from classical sources. I have therefore esteemed it quite useless to give the continuation of this list.

Having been obliged to write this article in less than a week, I have had too little time to control all the classical references I give. I venture to hope, however, few may eventually prove to be incorrect. Professor Dessau has kindly read through the proof sheets of the present article. He advises me to strike out n. 36 (*Dioscurus*; see Milne, *History*, p. 182*d*), and suggests I should not omit vice-praefects such as the *Gaius Caccilius Salvianus* of the Berlin papyri. He also calls my attention to a Philae inscription (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, Abth. VI, pl. 83, n. 206) mentioning a *Gaius Iulius Secundinus* twice (?) *praefectus Aegypti*. However, this last text appears to me to be only that of a *beneficiarius Praefecti* of the time of Tiberius.

As I am now preparing an exhaustive work on the Greek and Latin inscriptions from Egypt, any information readers of the *Proceedings* may be able to give me would be acknowledged with gratitude, and of course printed under the informant's name.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

30, Avenue Henri Martin,  
Paris.

N.B.—I include as *inscriptions* every written or stamped text not on *coins* or *papyri*, that is to say, all ostraka, mummy-tablets, texts on cloth, seals, weights, amphora-handles, and small graffiti: a *corpus inscriptionum* must be as exhaustive as possible.



## NOTES.

CHER MONSIEUR,

En feuilletant le dernier numéro (May, 1900) des *Proceedings*, j'y rencontre à la page 162 d'une note de M. Griffith, relative à ΠΕΤΣΕ = *Nucis*, les paroles suivantes :

"Professor Erman has drawn attention recently to a name ΠΕΤΣΕ, which the great Coptic monk Shenûte says was the equivalent of *Kporos*, *Ä.Z.*, 95, 47. *ZOEGA*, p. 758. This name has hitherto baffled interpretation."

Les paroles citées ne s'accordent pas entièrement avec la vérité :

1° d'abord puisque ce n'est point Erman qui ait attiré l'attention des égyptologues sur cette matière, qui se voit déjà traitée dans Peyron [*Lexicon*, p. 172], d'où Erman a simplement tiré sa mention sans citer sa source première.

2° puis, comme j'ai moi-même [*Sphinx*, I, page 197] essayé d'interpréter le vocable ΠΕΤΣΕ. Cette interprétation part du fait connu que "l'égyptien des basses époques emploie souvent un mot  qui précédé de l'article masculin  pourrait peut-être fournir l'équivalent du mot ΠΕΤΣΕ. Le groupe *aṭeb* se rencontre fréquemment en parallélisme avec d'autres désignations de la terre—domaine exclusif de Keb—ce qui rend le rapprochement proposé vraisemblable.

Il est curieux de noter qu'un des surnoms du dieu  a la forme que voici : ; ce qui, puisque Schou se trouve au-dessus de Keb, pourrait possiblement mériter d'être relevé à cette occasion."—Dans ces termes, je me suis exprimé en 1896. Réflexion faite, je me suis dit qu'il y a un mot égyptien qui, mieux que , remplit les conditions nécessaires, dans ce cas.



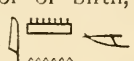


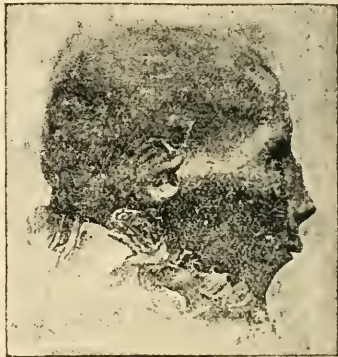
## MR. WARD'S COLLECTION OF SCARABS

(continued from p. 320).

the uræus crowned, which read  , "*The good god the strong bull, Thothmes.*" The stone is beautifully cut, the beetle's legs being pierced through. "*The Strong Bull*" is the *Horus* title of the king.

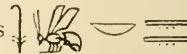
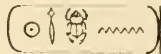
- 233. THOTHMES I.** The "golden Hawk" name or title is on this scarab. The cartouche  RA · AA · KHEPER · KA, with the addition of  *neter nefer, nefer renpt*, "Good god, good of years." The engraving is good.

- 399. THOTHMES I.** The name is peculiarly spelt by an ape and the symbol of birth, and underneath  Amen mer, "*beloved of Amen.*" This king did much building at Karnak, and erected one of the great obelisks. Records of his works are found at Assuan and far up the Nile. His mummy is preserved in the Cairo Museum. He was father of the great Queen Hatasu, who for reasons of state was married to her half-brother, King Thothmes II.



MUMMY OF THAHUTMES I.

- 241. THOTHMES II** (1516-1505 B.C.). The scarabs of this king are rare. This one has his cartouche with throne name AA · KHEPER · EN · RA . A hawk with extended wings is above the cartouche, and the *usekht* collar below.

- 362. THOTHMES II.** This scarab bears full titles  "*king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands,*" with the cartouche  AA · KHEPER · EN · RA. It

is a pretty device and well cut, but has lost its green colour.

The mummy of THOTHMES II is in the Cairo Museum. He was a son of Thothmes I by an inferior wife. His half-sister HATASU, was the daughter of the great royal queen AAHMES, and she was married to her young half-brother to give him full title to the throne. THOTHMES II seems to have been delicate, and did not live long, and Hatasu guided the kingdom during his life, and was regent for his son THOTHMES III, who came to the throne when a child. THOTHMES III was also a child by an inferior wife, and he had to be married to his step-mother's



THOTHMES II.

daughter (another Hatasu) in order to hold the throne legitimately.

Everything proceeding from the remarkable princess, Queen Hatasu, is in good taste, and proves her to have been a gifted and able ruler of a cultivated people. The celebrated Terrace Temple of Deir el Bahri, Thebes, is the most elegant specimen of architecture in Egypt, and shows what we would term pure Grecian taste, and in the severe Doric style. But it was built more than 1000 years before the best Greek temples, and when Pericles raised the Parthenon, he knew not of the earlier masterpiece. It was lost to the world for 2000 years, and has only been recently excavated from the ruins of mud brick buildings which entombed it, and at the same time preserved it for our generation. The three

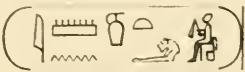


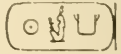
QUEEN HATASU.

beautiful volumes of the *Egyptian Exploration Fund*, which illustrate it, are well worthy of study. Even the Scarabs of this wonderful lady are conspicuous by their excellence. Her exquisite temple was built to immortalize her mother, Queen Aahmes, and her own scientific expeditions to foreign lands. It may also have been intended for her own mortuary chapel. The mummy of Queen Hatasu has never been found, and her tomb may still exist, entombed in the rock behind or beneath the temple, to be discovered some day.



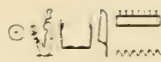
QUEEN AAHMES.  
(Mother of Queen Hatasu.)

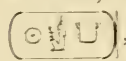
330. QUEEN HATSHEPSU (or HATASU, the best known name) (1516-1481 B.C.), XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. This is perhaps an amulet. For some unknown reason, the engraving is the same, or intended to be so, on each side,
- () , AMEN - KHNEM HAT SHEPSWT,  
"joined to Amen."

234. Is a "Ren" amulet, and bears this queen's favourite name,  neter nefer, "good" or "beautiful." () , MAAT KA RA. The goddess of truth, Maat, she seems to have regarded as her patron saint and taken her name from. This scarab is well engraved, has its ancient green colour, and bears on the back the sacred eye "Uzat" carved in bold relief.

217. Contains signs intended for Queen Hatasu's prenom  
 Well cut, but colour gone.

437. Has MAKARA's fuller titles, , Mry Amen Ra. MAAT KA RA, "beloved of Amen," beautifully cut, but has lost its green colour.

376. Another well-cut scarab of the great queen, ,  
Maat Ka Ra tyt n Amen, "*Truth the Ka of Ra, Symbol of Amen,*" with its original green tint.

404. Is however the best of this lady's, good enough to have been her own signet. It is a beautiful blue-green colour, is well cut, and as fresh as when made. It bears simply , Ra · ma · ka, or MA · KA · RA, her favourite name. The little figure of truth bears the signifiñ feather on her head. The beetle's form is good, and the legs are pierced through.

This interesting example of a great royal princess ruled with Thothmes II for thirteen years, and with Thothmes III for upwards upwards of twenty years. She spent her time in peaceful cultivation of the arts and commerce. When she left the scene, THOTHMES III (1502-1449 B.C.), the greatest of Egyptian conquerors, carried Egypt's sway into Asia and Europe, and then built great temples all over Egypt, erecting obelisks nearly equal to Hatasu's. Those of London, New York, Rome, Constantinople, are of his work. He left more traces of his great building in Egypt than any other king. He posed as a great pillar of the church, and in fact called himself Defender of the Faith. Being thus popular with the priests, his name became a watchword of religious supremacy, and so remained for many generations. This is possibly the cause of the scarabs with the name of Thothmes III being so plentiful. I have seen quite a thousand of his, *all different*, in various collections.

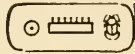


COLOSSAL GRANITE HEAD  
OF THOTHMES III.  
(British Museum.)

They seem to be typical of a great outburst of religious zeal, though many, if we understood them, may possibly commemorate historical events. Some of them were made after Thothmes III's time, no doubt. But as the very latest of these scarabs is at least

3000 years old, they are still very venerable objects. No doubt, after the time of the great king whose name they bear, they were regarded as a sort of talisman bearing a name that remained a watchword of religious fervour, for a thousand years after his death.

395. THOTHMES III. A beautiful little scarab, retaining its green glaze.  Amen tyt, *symbol of Amen*, and cartouche  MEN KHEPER RA.

426. Cowroid form  *neter nefer*  MEN KHEPER RA, the name which he mostly used.

26. The cartouche of Thothmes III as above, adored by one of "the souls of Nekhen" (Elkab), one of the spirits of the South. Crocodile below.

425. Has the "uzat" or sacred eye in relief on the back, and cartouche of Thothmes III as above, very finely cut.

104. The back of this scarab is peculiar. The wings are extended from a small beetle in the centre. On the face a sphinx, couchant, with two plumes. Over its back a winged uræus adoring the cartouche of Thothmes III.

427. A finely cut scarab with bearded sphinx. In front of it  *neter nefer*, "*Good God*," and prenomen of Thothmes III over all.

265. MEN KHEPER RA, with  *"chosen of Ra,"* and  added.

50. Cartouche of Thothmes III, water plants (typical of union of North and South Egypt) at the sides.

286. Cartouche of Thothmes III, rude work.

378. Peculiar arrangement of title on a band, and added symbols.



## PLATE III.

This plate is entirely occupied by scarabs of Thothmes III. They exhibit extraordinary variety in design, no two being alike.

310. A very peculiar scarab. On the back a sunken cartouche with  surmounted with double plumes. On the front, same cartouche and  neter nefer ankh, "*the good God lives.*"

328. Thothmes III, is a curious scarab with the king's name written in sportive hieroglyphics, which read, "THOTHMES, *Ra men kheper, sa nt.*" It retains its green colour.

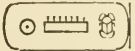
161. Has devices in scroll work signifying union, with the royal cartouche of Thothmes between them.

505. Hawk with   "mr neteru, *beloved of the gods,*" and the usual royal cartouche .

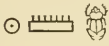
447. Is a flat bead, well cut on both sides. Front, THOTHMES standing, royal cartouche and "Amen Ra." Back, four uræi as a quatrefoil.

100. On one side inscription to Amen Ra, on the other the king's cartouche with the *ka* sign, which is unusual .

94. "Uzat," sacred eye, with two cartouches of Thothmes III.

12. The royal cartouche  between uræus supporters

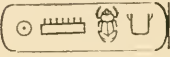
239. Cartouche of THOTHMES III, with crown of double plumes, and uræi on either side.

174.     Men Kheper Ra Sotep en Ra, "chosen of Ra," Thothmes III.

176. Maat the goddess of truth and the royal cartouche   hotep hr maat, "*resting in truth.*"

417. Royal cartouche with     Men Kheper ra kha m Uast, "*resplendent in Thebes.*" Fine work, in its original green colour.

95. Royal cartouche with a beaded border.

240.  Men Kheper ra ka, neb, Thothmes,  
"lord."

112. Cartouche of the king between two feathers, winged disc above.

101. "Ren" shaped bead, ox one side,  the good lord Thothmes  
on the other side,  Mer Amen, *beloved of Amen*

479. Rectangular bead, glazed steatite, colour gone. Horses were introduced into Egypt, it is believed, by THOTHMES III. Here we have one of the earliest Egyptian equestrian scenes. Not badly done either. The scene is represented in *intaglio*, and the king, on horse back, is wielding a mace and bow. A prostrate Syrian, bound, under the horse's feet, with  symbol, probably the animal's name, "the beautiful one." On the other side, in *relief*, are the figures of BAST and NEFERTUM, with the cartouche of THOTHMES III between.

108. Sphinx treading enemy under foot, cartouche, *Men Kheper Ra*, with symbol  "to reign."

308. Blue glazed steatite "Ren" amulet, "Lord of Sebek Ra. lord of Swn"; on the other side, "THOTHMES, founder of houses." Crocodiles engraved on the edges.

74. Green scarab, mounted in its original blue ring. Hawk, crown of Lower Egypt before, uræus in front, below .

23. Flat rectangular bead, cartouche of THOTHMES III between feathers of truth, on other side    *Amen Ra, lord.*

61. Cowroid, bright blue-green. Cartouche of THOTHMES III, on left  *beloved of Amen*; on right, Neter nefer neb tawi, *Good God, lord of the two lands.*

122. Winged genii and cartouche of THOTHMES III, surmounted by two feathers,  below.

34. Cartouche of THOTHMES III, papyrus sceptre on each side, pottery.
493. Cartouche of THOTHMES, with *ku* and *neb* signs.
69. On back a large winged scarab, same as on No. 104, Plate II. On the front the god Bes between two cartouches of Thothmes III.
381. On back eight *uræi* symmetrically arranged, *cf.* Nos. 412, 497; fine work; steatite. On front cartouche of THOTHMES III between *uræi*,  "sam" sign between.
43. Coarse green pottery. Back in form of a negro head. Front with cartouche of THOTHMES III between feathers.

## PLATE IV.

THOTHMES III reigned fifty-four years. In his old age his son AMENHOTEP II ruled jointly with him. This co-regency is commemorated by the scarab, No. 501.

501. *Obverse.* THOTHMES III, crowned, standing, wielding the scourge—his royal cartouche in front. *Reverse—*



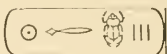
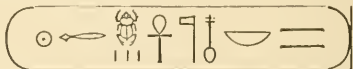
prenomen of Amenhotep II, "great are

the forms of Ra," between the two feathers of truth (Maat).

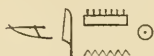
375. AMENHOTEP II [1449-1423 B.C.], seated on his throne in the sacred boat of Mentu, holding the scourge and *haq* sceptre; the figure-heads at prow and stern, hawk-headed, Mentu, crowned with his two feathers. The royal cartouche is displayed before the king. This scarab is well cut. (From Thebes, 1899.) This king came to the throne in youth, and there is a sculpture representing him seated on his nurse's knee, with his royal titles, as on the scarabs, correctly shown over the boy's head.



AMENHOTEP II AND HIS NURSE.

470. A flat bead that has been worn as a ring. AMENHOTEP II seated on throne; before him  "good god," above his cartouche. Reverse, a sphinx, walking, with the same cartouche. Behind  "lord of two lands." On the edges are engraved hawk-headed men, crowned with plumes.
499. Green scarab, well cut. Lion couchant, ☉ above, cartouche of AMENHOTEP II () on each side royal emblems.
80. Winged solar disc guarding cartouche of AMENHOTEP II. Below, Mer Amen, "*beloved of Amen*," and papyrus sceptre.
67. Well cut, elaborate work. Cartouche of AMENHOTEP II. Below      "*Lord of Splendour, in the house of Amen.*"
414. Back *uzat*, sacred eye, in open-work. Inscribed, around cartouche of AMENHOTEP II, "*The good god, lord of two lands*," and  repeated.
400. Cartouche of Amenhotep II between feathers of Maat, *truth*, good work.
- 478 resembles No. 80, but better cut, "*Beloved of Amen Ra*," and cartouche.
9. AMENHOTEP II, enthroned in sacred boat. *Uræi* on either side; his cartouche before him. He holds *haq* sceptre, with other emblems.
236. Fine work. Sacred Eye. *Obv.* Amenhotep's cartouche on a *ren* panel; green colour perfect.
235. AMENHOTEP II () Ankh neter nefer āa · Kheperu · Ra, neb tawi ("*Live the good god, lord of the two lands, Amenhotep.*")
481. Couchant sphinx; on back . Below the royal cartouche of AMENHOTEP II, and beside it,  (*"beloved of Amen"*).

242 is still mounted in the original bronze ring. Royal cartouche of AMENHOTEP II, with winged disc above, beneath



301 possesses the cartouche of the great THOTHMES III on one side, guarded by a sphinx, passant.



THOTHMES IV.

with . On the other side, the cartouche of THOTHMES IV (grandson of the great religious warrior) calls himself   "son of Amen," and exhibits his own cartouche,



But he relies on the powerful name of his great ancestor.

THOTHMES IV did not reign long (1423-1414 B.C.), and his scarabs are rare. His portrait shows him as quite young. He records on a fine granite stele (between the paws of the great Sphinx) that he restored that ancient monument (the event may be recorded on these scarabs), and which he says he did to the glory of his ancestors.

64 has a finely engraved sphinx (facing the royal cartouche of THOTHMES IV), and having the diadem and beard which the great figure formerly possessed. Over the back a winged *uraeus* adores the sphinx. Underneath  *neb*, the symbol of sovereignty.

451 is a finely cut green scarab. The cartouche of THOTHMES IV; below the , sign of power, strength, between supporters of *uræi*, the royal insignia.

Amenhotep III, son of Thothmes III, redeemed the brief reign and shortcomings of his father.

AMENHOTEP III had a long reign (1414-1379 B.C.) and left his mark on the country, although his splendid temple at Thebes was ruthlessly torn down by Menepthah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and his records chiselled out (to substitute his own worthless ones) by that unscrupulous king of two centuries later. But the giants which guarded the gates of Amenhotep's temple still remain, the colossi of Thebes, seated portraits of Amenhotep, 80 feet high. Although sadly ruined, they remain to-day still wonders of the ancient world.

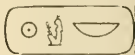


GRANITE HEAD OF  
AMENHOTEP III.  
(British Museum.)

296. AMENHOTEP III espoused a great Asiatic princess, of which union he was proud. She was accorded an equal

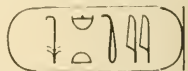
position with himself, and given a royal cartouche of her own. This scarab testifies to this fact, for it bears

AMENHOTEP'S cartouche



neb maat ra, "Lord of the truth of Ra," on one side, and on the other his

wife's, QUEEN TYI



Seten hmt Tyi, "the royal wife Tyi."

This scarab is well cut, and contains the original blue enamel in the characters.



QUEEN TYI.

243. Tyi has here all the scarab to herself, with the inscription, "The Royal wife Tyi," but in better engraving, though exposure has taken away its original green colour.

469 is a fine blue-glazed scarab, with Amenhotep's cartouche, and the addition of ☉ ~ ~ ~ ? ? ? Ra in hequ, "I am among princes."





# NEW KINGDOM

Pl. V.

XVIII Dynasty

AMEN —

HOTEP III



364



358



1

AMENHOTEP IV  
(Akhenaten)



340



294



247



138



55

AMEN —

HOTEP III



371



295



75



444

E E I N E R O I



485



246



484



250



249



370

HOREMHEB



254



244



245

XIX Dyn. SETY I

RAMSES II

NEFERTARTERY  
Queen of  
RAMSES II



251



252



436



271



272



258

RAMSES II



17



498



253



68

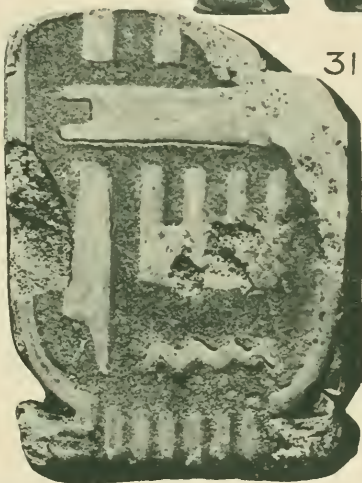


31

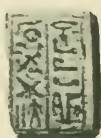


422

260



429



255



SETY II

SETY II

259



264



263



343



261



274

TAUSERT

TAUSERT

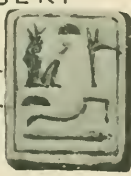
29



226



28















58



270



109



41



490



374



268



52



510



492



408



89



269



446



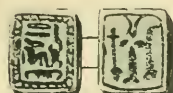
178



96



311



302



348



4



316



468



366



46



282



410



346



455



275



276



126



3



511





63. A pretty little scarab with a good figure of Maat, goddess of truth, and other emblems, possibly of AMENHOTEP III.
- 237 resembles the last, also AMENHOTEP III's signs.
- 488 is the bezel of one of the earliest known pottery rings, with the symbols Neb Maat Ra, prenomen of AMENHOTEP III.
18. Bearded sphinx, passant, guarding Amenhotep's cartouche, with  *haq* sceptre behind. On reverse, hawk of  , Mentu, and a growing plant.
173. Fish, between two . Reverse,   Men menmu, "*firm of monuments,*" and cartouche of AMENHOTEP III, "*Ra, the Lord of Truth.*"

Under AMENHOTEP III scarabs were made of larger size than before. Some of them he employed to record his prowess in the hunting field, and other personal matters. These are rather large to illustrate here, but three largish ones are shown on Plate V.

#### PLATE V.

- 364 shows QUEEN TYI at her lord's right hand. Her title above her cartouche is   hemt seten, "*royal wife.*" Over AMENHOTEP's cartouche is   neter nefer, "*good god.*" The cartouches of this loving royal pair are side by side, on a perfect equality.
- 358 is interesting, as it bears, side by side, the two cartouches of AMENHOTEP III. The first, with his ordinary title   neb maat ra, with   above. The second cartouche    Amen hotep heq uast, "*Devoted to Amen, ruler of Thebes,*" has   sa ra, "*son of the Son,*" over it.

**1 and 35** are scarabs of similar style, each with a large figure of Maat, the goddess of truth, with ☉ and ∩ forming Amen-hotep's usual cartouche.

Amenhotep III reigned 65 years, building many temples and leaving a great name. But his son, Amenhotep IV, seems to have done his best to subvert the old religion of the State. The sun worship, the adoration of the sun's disc as the representative of the one God, which had been introduced by Tyl, had been publicly adopted by her son, and having the great queen's authority, also became very general in his reign.



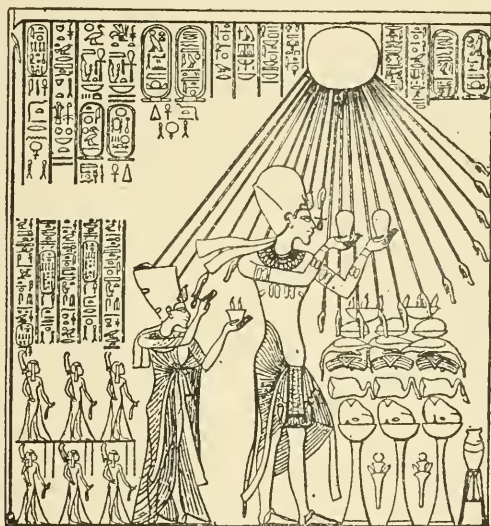
AKHENATEN.  
(AMENHOTEP IV.)  
(From the Louvre.)

AMENHOTEP IV (1383-1365 B.C.). This young man never seems to have approved of the polytheism which the Egyptian priests had arrived at, and desired to return to the simpler belief of the ancient empire. But he met with so much opposition from the priests of Thebes, that he built a new capital at some distance down the river, and changed his name to AKHENATEN. The new city was also named from the new Aten worship. Scarabs ceased to be made under the new cult, so we have none to show, save one (No. 244), which was found at TELL EL AMARNA, the site of the Reformer's city, and which seems to refer to the Aten worship in some way.

**244** Hands reaching down from the sun, as represented in Aten worship, but the other symbols are mysterious. It may refer to the name of the reformer's city, as ☉  was part of Akhenaten's name.

But though scarabs went out of fashion, the royal titles were used as much as ever, and pottery rings were still made with royal and other titles on them. After Akhenaten's death the priests of Amen came to their own again, and showed a vindictive spirit in destroying the city of the reformer and erasing his name wherever possible. The few seals and rings with his name are

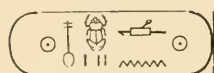
nearly always found in a broken state. Dr. Petrie discovered the site of the sun worshipper's city, and has published a most interesting volume on it, under its modern name of TELL EL AMARNA. I visited the place, saw the wondrous painted floor of the palace, and the desecrated sepulchre which once contained the poor king's mummy and his sarcophagus, now destroyed. I could only obtain fragments, some of which I illustrate. The scene of Akhenaten and his family worshipping the sun, is from one of the tombs, where some of his relatives were buried. These, and inscriptions



AKENHATEN, HIS WIFE, AND SIX DAUGHTERS,  
ADORING THE SUN'S DISC.

carved on the rocky walls, alone remain to tell the city's tale, but I picked up from the women and children of the wretched village near, many beautiful fragments of coloured pottery ornaments, and some bits of sculpture. At his tomb I found morsels of his granite coffin, and of his alabaster monument. The tomb was in a lonely gorge away far from the city's site, among the wildest desert scenery, but the situation of the town had been well chosen, a wide plain encircled by the Nile, with fertile banks, and capable of being irrigated easily.

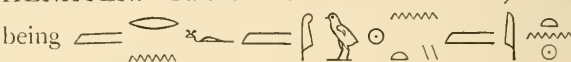
340. AKHENATEN, Ring, of purple glazed pottery—



Nefer Kheperu Ra, uā en Ra, "*Most beautiful of the forms of Ra, the unique one of Ra.*"

294. AKHENATEN. Green glazed pottery, similar to No. 340 as to legend.

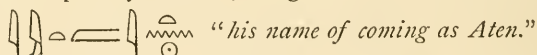
247. AKHENATEN. Blue glazed pottery, similar to No. 340 as to legend.

246. AKHENATEN. Part of his second cartouche, the whole being  "*In the name of Shu, which is Aten.*"

138. (Sandstone) Sculpture with the above inscription also.

485. Blue pottery amulet fragment with the same wording.

484. Blue pottery amulet, fragment of his other cartouche



AKHENATEN had no son; two of his daughters, however, lived to sit on the throne of Egypt as royal queens, after the worship of AMEN had been re-established.

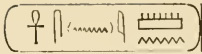
249. } One of these was SEMENKH · KA · RA (1365–1353 B.C.),  
295. } of whom I possess two bezils of blue glazed pottery rings.



ANKH · KHEPERU · RA. This king married MERT · ATEN, the eldest daughter. I saw her tomb in a rock chamber of her father's, described above.

250. TUT · ANKH · AMEN (1353–1344 B.C.) reigned by right of another daughter of AKHENATEN. He returned to the worship of Amen, and his wife's name was altered to suit the old faith's nomenclature. The ring bezil was found at TEL EL AMARNA, but recently, at THEBES, I obtained



a lovely cylinder-seal of this lady   
 ANKH'S'EN'AMEN, which is quite perfect, and has its ancient blue glaze intact. The decoration is made up of ☉ and ornaments (Plate XVI).

371. HOREMHEB (1332-1328 B.C.) also owed' his accession to the throne through his wife, some member of Akhenaten's family. Considering his apparently short reign, many works



HOREMHEB.

exist bearing his name, and I exhibit several scarabs and other small things of his.

No. 371 is a fine paste bead inlaid with green   
 Zeser · Kheseru · Ra, "sacred are the forms of Ra," Setep en Ra, "chosen of Ra," with  above all.

370. Green glazed pottery ring,      
 Mer en Amen HOREMHEB, "beloved of Amen."

444. Bezil of blue pottery ring, same wording as 370.

254. Bezil of turquoise-blue ring, "Mer Amen Horemheb."  
 (To be continued.)

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD,  
CLAPHAM ROAD, S.W.

Jan. 1st, 1901.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In Dr. Flinders Petrie's new work on the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund, at p. 37, sec. 5, he says that Seneferu was the first king with a cartouche, but I would like to draw attention to the remarkable oval with  $\Pi$  inside it, mentioned by Prof. Sayce in the *Proceedings* of this Society, vol. xxxii, p. 278. The object on which it occurs was found at Tûkh, near Nagada. This oval looks very like a cartouche and is so called by Prof. Sayce. It is accompanied by a curious title, and must in all probability belong to a king long anterior to Seneferu. If this is so, the theory about the inter-marriage of the king with the daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis being the origin of the cartouche will have to be modified, or its date put much further back than is at present considered probable. Most likely this unknown king is anterior to the first dynasty. It is a pity there is no scale or dimensions given to Prof. Sayce's sketches.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

E. TOWRY WHYTE.

W. H. RYLANDS, ESQ.

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The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday the 9th January, 1901, at 4.30 p.m., when the ordinary business of the Meeting will be transacted.

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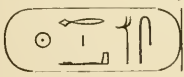
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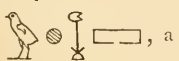
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